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HVAT MEGI FÓTR FÆTI VEITA?

STEFÁN EINARSSON

The Johns Hopkins University

I

THIS fateful question in *Hamðismál* 13 has been the object of a special comment by Helga Reuschel in an article "Wie ein Fuss dem anderen. Zum Aufbau der *Hamðismál*" (*PBB*, Vol. LXIII [1939], pp. 237-249). The passage has also been scrutinized by Caroline Brady in *The Legends of Ermanric* (1943).

The context of this passage in the poem is as follows: After Guðrún has egged her sons, Hamðir and Sqrli, to avenge the death of their sister, Svanhildr, on Jörmunrekkr, they ride forth (stanza 11) and meet on the way the shrewd (*stórbragðóttir*) third half-brother, Erpr. They ask him tauntingly (*jarpskammr*) what aid he can give them (12).

Svaraði inn sundrmæðri

svá kvaz veita mundu
fullting frændum
sem fótr qðrum.
"Hvat megi fótr

fæti veita
ne holdgróin
hqnd annari?"

The half-brother (of a different
mother)

answered, he would so give
aid to his kinsmen
as one foot to another
"What may one foot [the
brothers said]
aid the other
or hand of the same body
the other hand?" (13)

To this Erpr gave a sharp retort: "Bad it is to show the way to cowards!" (14),¹ on which account the brothers killed him, thus reducing their power by one third (*þverðu þeir þrótt sinn at*

¹ In the MS, stanza 14 stands between 11 and 12. Bugge changed the order of the verses, and Miss Brady follows him, while Miss Reuschel tries to press a meaning out of the verses as they stand in the MS.

priðjungi [15]). But they did not realize how fatal their error was until they stood in the Gothic hall, having cut off the hands and feet of Jǫrmunrekkr, but having failed to cut off his head, which act was reserved for Erpr. As Hamðir says:

Af myndi nú hofuðit
ef Erpr lifði.

The head would now be off
if Erpr were alive.

The version in *Snorra Edda* has gained in clearness what it has lost in dramatic effect under Snorri's hands. I quote here, with slight changes, Miss Brady's summary:

Jǫrmunrekkr, having heard of the beauty of Svanhildr, sends his son Randvér to woo her for him. Randvér travels to the court of Jónakr, where Svanhildr has been brought up, and she is given to him. Jarl Bikki, however, suggests that the young prince take the girl for himself, since he is young and Jǫrmunrekkr old. [Snorri remarks: This counsel pleased the younger people.] Bikki straightway reports the matter to Jǫrmunrekkr, who orders Randvér to be hanged. Randvér plucks the feathers from his hawk and sends it to his father, who realizes that even as it has been deprived of its power to fly, so has his kingdom been bereft of its might, for he now has no heir. Then, riding from a wood, he sees Svanhildr bleaching her hair, and rides her down.

Guðrún hears of her daughter's slaying and whets Hamðir and Sǫrli and Erpr to action. She gives them byrnies and helmets so strong that iron cannot penetrate them, and issues specific instructions: the three are to attack by night as Jǫrmunrekkr sleeps, and Hamðir and Sǫrli are to cut off his hands and feet, Erpr the head. After they have set out, Hamðir and Sǫrli ask Erpr what aid he can give; he answers that he will aid as hand aids foot. They slay him, not because of his words, but because they are angry with their mother for her harsh words and because by slaying her favorite son, Erpr, they can hurt her. A little later Sǫrli slips and saves himself with his hand, and realizes that they should not have slain Erpr. Then he said: "Now the hand helped the foot, it would be better that Erpr were alive." The outcome in Jǫrmunrekkr's hall is the same, and Snorri, too, ends with Hamðir's remark: "*Af mundi nú hofuðit ef Erpr lifði.*"

Of the additional features in *Vǫlsunga saga* we shall only note this: here both brothers slip, Hamðir saving himself with his hand, Sǫrli with his foot.

Miss Brady points out the similarity of Erpr, especially in Snorri's version, to the typical folk-tale favorite youngest brother, envied by his older brothers. The chance meeting of the brothers, the detailed planning of Jǫrmunrekkr's killing with a task assigned to each of the actors—all this proves, in Miss

Brady's opinion, the folk-tale origin of Erpr and his role in the story.

Miss Reuschel, on the other hand, surmises the folk tale from another element in the story, namely the fateful question: "Hvat megi fótr fæti veita?" She sees in this motif a parallel to the Lear story: A father asks his three daughters how much they love him. The two older ones give high-toned answers, but the youngest one says: "I love you as much as salt." Greatly disappointed, the father disowns his daughter, until want has taught him the real meaning of the statement, and adversity the worth of his daughter.

Similarly, a Norwegian folk tale tells of a wife who states she loves her husband "as a breeze in the sunshine." The disillusioned husband finds out the truth of the statement by climbing a mountain in warm sunshine and being refreshed by a breeze.

To be sure, there is here a sort of parallelism in pattern, though the motifs otherwise are quite different.

A much closer parallel to the *Hamðismál* motif is found in William of Malmesbury's *Chronicle of the Kings of England*. It is found on pp. 138-140 in John Sharpe's translation, edited by J. A. Giles for Bohn's Antiquarian Library 1847 (reprinted, 1904). The motif occurs in a story that William relates about the birth and adolescence of King Athelstan, grandson of Alfred the Great. "[This story (or stories)]," he says, "I have learned more from old ballads, popular through succeeding times, than from books, written expressly for the information of posterity." Thus we have here to do with lost late Old English poetry.

The story, whose Latin original is here printed in full in an Appendix, consists of two parts, the first describing Athelstan's birth, how his mother, a shepherd's daughter, had a vision (dream) that "the moon shone from her womb, and all England was illumined by the light." This is a dream of the same order, though of different content, as the one told in *Heimskringla* about Ragnhildr, mother of Harald the Hairfair.

A well-known parallel from antiquity is found in Herodotus' story concerning the birth of Cyrus. His grandfather dreams first that a stream of water flows from his daughter Mandané, flood-

ing the whole of Asia. Thereupon he dreams that a vine grows from her womb, overshadowing the whole of Asia—this latter dream being practically identical with Ragnhildr's.²

But it is only the second part of the story about Athelstan's killing—or rather exiling—of his brother that concerns us here. I quote it *in extenso*:

King Edward, therefore, died, and was shortly followed by his legitimate son Ethelward. All hopes now centered in Athelstan: Elfred alone, a man of uncommon insolence, disdaining to be governed by a sovereign whom he had not voluntarily chosen, secretly opposed with his party to the very utmost. But he being detected and punished, as the king has before related, there were some who even accused Edwin, the king's brother, of treachery. Base and dreadful crime was it thus to embroil fraternal affection by sinister constructions. Edwin, though imploring, both personally and by messengers, the confidence of his brother, and though invalidating the accusation by oath, was nevertheless driven into exile. So far, indeed, did the dark suggestions of some persons prevail on a mind distracted with various cares, that, forgetful of a brother's love, he expelled the youth, an object of pity even to strangers. The mode adopted, too, was cruel in the extreme: he was compelled to go on board a vessel, with a single attendant, without a rower, without even an oar, and the bark crazy with age. Fortune laboured for a long time to restore the innocent youth to land, but when at length he was far out to sea, and sails could not endure the violence of the wind, the young man, delicate, and weary of life under such circumstances, put an end to his existence by a voluntary plunge into the waters. The attendant, wisely determining to prolong his life, sometimes by shunning the hostile waves, and sometimes by urging the boat forward with his feet, brought his master's body to land, in the narrow sea which flows between Wissant and Dover. Athelstan, when his anger cooled, and his mind became calm, shuddered at the deed, and submitting to seven years' penance, inflicted severe vengeance on the accuser of his brother: he was the king's cupbearer, and on this account had opportunity of enforcing his insinuations. It so happened on a festive day, as he was serving wine, that slipping with one foot in the midst of the chamber, he recovered himself with the other. On this occasion he made use of an expression which proved his destruction: "Thus brother," said he, "assists brother." The king, on hearing this, ordered the faithless wretch to be put to death, loudly reproaching him with the loss of that assistance he might have had from his brother, were he alive, and bewailing his death.³

² Cf. *The History of Herodotus*, transl. by G. Rawlinson, ed. by Manuel Komroff, New York, 1939, pp. 41-42.

³ Roger of Wendover in his *Flowers of History* I (translated by J. A. Giles, ed. in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, London, 1849) tells virtually the same story under the year A.D. 934, starting with the story of Athelstan's illegitimate birth, which is given as a reason for his hatred of his legitimate brother Edwin;

This motif of slipping and foot-aids-foot-as-brother-brother is not only a close parallel to the motif in *Hamðismál-Snorra Edda-Völsungasaga*, but it seems to me to be an unmistakable allusion to a story of the type of the *Hamðismál* legend, whether that story was a folk tale of the three brothers sent on a difficult errand by their mother or the heroic legend of Hamðir, Sqrli, and Erpr. If so, it would, indeed, be the only indication of that part of the Ermanric legend in England. For though *Widsþ* and *Deor* testify to an early and late familiarity with Ermanric himself, and, perhaps, with some of the characters of the Svanhild story (Becca [?], Rondhere: Bikki, Randvér), the names of the brothers are entirely absent from English literary sources, old or late.

If the lay of *Hamðismál*, as is generally assumed, was well known in Scandinavia (Norway) throughout the ninth century, there is no reason why the vikings should not have taken the poem or the legend with them over to England, as they did, indeed, to Iceland, so that it might have been on the repertoire of scop or scalds during the tenth century. *Heimskringla* tells us that the Norwegian prince Hákon, later King Hákon the Good of Norway (flourished 919-964), was fostered at King Athelstan's court, for which reason he got the nickname Aðalsteinsfóstri. *Egils saga* claims that Egill Skallagrímsson (ca. 900-980),

the cupbearer's death is also related, but not the incident (our motif) leading to it. Roger's version is copied by Matthew Paris and Richard of Cirencester; see Appendix.

As to the historicity of the story, F. M. Stenton writes as follows in his *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943, p. 351): Under the year 933 a Northumbrian annalist (Symeon of Durham) states gauntly that 'King Athelstan ordered Edwin his brother to be drowned in the sea.' Anglo-Norman writers expanded this tradition into a pitiful story of Edwin's sufferings and Athelstan's remorse. Fortunately for Athelstan's memory the monks of St. Bertin's in Flanders remembered his gratitude for the burial which they had given to his brother Edwin, drowned in a storm while escaping from England in a time of commotion. The Flemish tradition, which was put into writing within a generation of Edwin's death disposes of the more sinister implication of the Northumbrian annal. It leaves the whole incident obscure, but it strengthens the possibility that a rebellion against Athelstan may have been organized within the royal house itself.

It seems clear from this that historians consider the poem more or less legendary.

the Icelandic poet, was a retainer and court poet at Athelstan's court at the time of the Battle of Brunanburgh. And William of Malmesbury tells a story of Anlaf, the young Norse king, who before the battle at Brunanburgh stole into Athelstan's camp, disguised as a minstrel with a harp, in order to spy on his English adversary. Now, it is true that, in the form we have them, these stories all bear more or less resemblance to the legend. But, as F. M. Stenton has shown in his *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943, pp. 344 ff.), their verisimilitude is greatly enhanced by the fact that "among the provincial rulers who attended King Athelstan's court a remarkably large number bore Scandinavian names." Mr. Stenton also feels that Hákon's nickname is strong evidence for his stay with Athelstan.

But we need not rely on the bare assumption that these men *might* have known *Hamðismál*, since we have convincing evidence that some of them actually did. For the names Hamðir and Sqrli were used by scalds in kennings, mostly for a byrnie, rarely for a helm, shield, and perhaps stones. If we now glance at the scalds of the tenth century who make use of these kennings, based upon the *Hamðismál* story, we find the names Egill Skallagrímsson, Hákon góði,⁴ Einarr Helgason skálaglam (ca. 945–1000), Tindr Hallkelsson (ca. 950–1015), and Hallfreðr Óttarsson vandræðaskáld (967–1007). The first two of these need no further comment, except that it should be stated that the interpretation of Egils verse (*lausavísa* 45) is controversial. Einarr skálaglam is not known to have been in England, but the story says that his father, Helgi Óttarsson, once raided Scotland and there took captive Niðbjörg, daughter of a certain king Bjólan and daughter's daughter (niece) of Gøngu-Hrólfr (Rollo) himself. Tindr Hallkelsson was a descendant of Bragi, whose poem on Hamðir and Sqrli is still extant (*Ragnarsdrápa*), but neither Tindr nor Hallfreðr is known to have been in England.

Now, if we cast another glance at the story of Edwin's death to see whether it has any other features that might indicate its

⁴ Hákon góði's verse:

Vel launa mér mínir
menn, æxlum styr þenna,
hríð vex Hamðis klæða,
hodd ok rekna brodda.

Well reward my men me,
We are fighting this battle,
The storm of Hamðis weeds grows, (=battle)
Gold and adorned weapons.

origin, we notice at once that it contains several other folk-tale motifs.

We have, then, first the motif of putting a person into a boat without oars in order to destroy him. It occurs for instance in the Romance of King Horn. In Iceland a similar motif is very common in stepmother tales. The evil stepmother puts her stepchildren into a stone (boat), a chest, or a barrel and lets them drift over the sea into the power of her ogress sister (or of her ogre brother).

Secondly, we have the motif of the wicked counsellor, extremely common in folk tales, at least in Iceland. It will be seen that our tale shares this motif with the prehistory of *Hamðismál* as told in *Snorra Edda* and *Völsunga saga*.

In the third place, we have here a pattern which is similar—in H. Reuschel's sense—to that found in the same prehistory of *Hamðismál*.

When the evil cupbearer slips and blurts out "Thus brother assists brother," thereby reminding the king of his crime, this is essentially the same pattern as when Randvér in *Snorra Edda* sends the plucked hawk⁵ to his father, who thereby realizes the

⁵ Cf. the motif of plucked lettuce in Herodotus' story of Cambyses in *The History of Herodotus*, transl. by G. Rawlinson, ed. by M. Komroff, New York, 1939, p. 158. The passage runs as follows: "Concerning the manner of her [Cambyses's sister's] death, as concerning that of Smerdis, two different accounts are given. The story which the Greeks tell, is, that Cambyses had set a young dog to fight the cub of a lioness—his wife [=sister] looking on at the time. Now the dog was getting the worse, when a pup of the same litter broke his chain, and came to his brother's aid—then the two dogs together fought the lion, and conquered him. The thing greatly pleased Cambyses, but his sister who was sitting by shed tears. When Cambyses saw this, he asked her why she wept: whereupon she told him, that seeing the young dog come to his brother's aid made her think of Smerdis, whom there was none to help. For this speech, the Greeks say, Cambyses put her to death. But the Egyptians tell the story thus:—The two were sitting at table, when the sister took a lettuce, and stripping the leaves off, asked her brother, 'when he thought the lettuce looked the prettiest—when it had all its leaves on, or now that it was stripped?' He answered, 'When the leaves were on.' 'But thou,' she rejoined, 'hast done as I did to the lettuce, and made bare the house of Cyrus.' Then Cambyses was wroth, and sprang fiercely upon her, though she was with child at the time. And so it came to pass that she miscarried and died."

Although there is probably no connection—unless the Goths heard similar stories in their intercourse with the Greeks or with the Scythians—one cannot

fatal importance of his deed: he is now deprived of his son's assistance in his old age as the plucked hawk is deprived of feathers.

We can now sum up. The author of the poem on Athelstan was probably fond of folk tales. There are at least five folk-tale motifs in the poem, all of which have parallels in Old Norse literature. One of the motifs (*fótr-fæti*) is unmistakably the same as the one found in all versions of the *Hamðismál* legend in the North. It is, moreover, so characteristic and rare that one cannot doubt the influence from *Hamðismál*. Another one (the evil counsellor) is found in the late Icelandic versions of the *Hamðismál* legend in Iceland, but it is not a rare motif, so that its significance would be less, but for the fact that it appears in conjunction with the first one. Finally, the treatment of the *fótr-fæti* motif in the English poem recalls the treatment of the plucked-falcon motif in the first part of the late (13th century) *Hamðismál* legend in Iceland.

From the evidence furnished above one can, it seems to me, only draw one conclusion: that the author of the poem on Athelstan was familiar with the *Hamðismál* or *Jǫrmunrekkr* legend and probably even in the form related by Snorri.

II

After writing the preceding note, I became aware of the fact that two authors had treated the subject before me. Edward A. Freeman had written on the Athelstan legend in "The Mythical and Romantic Elements in Early English History," published in *Historical Essays*, First Series, 3rd ed., London, 1875, pp. 1-40. And Samuel Singer treats of the *Hamðismál* motif as a nascent proverb (*sprichwort*) in his *Sprichwörter des Mittelalters* I, Bern, 1944, pp. 20-22.

Freeman translates William of Malmesbury's tale, quoted by

help noting that we have here two motifs combined, the one on brotherly love, the other the plucked lettuce, both of which in a way are paralleled in the *Hamðismál*-Randvér tales. I have looked in vain for parallels to these parables in the East. Neither the index of *Panchatantra* nor Stith Thompson's folk-tale index nor the indices to Burton's translation of the *Arabian Nights* furnish any evidence, so far as I could find. But the hawk motif is also found in Saxo.

me above, remarking that a "number of floating tales have gathered themselves like barnacles on a plank round the simple fact that Eadwine was drowned." He mentions a folk tale (a ballad) parallel to the evil adviser, quotes the legend of Lothebrok (Loðbrók) as an exposure-in-boat parallel. Lothebrok is driven by a storm to the shore of East Anglia, where he is murdered by Biorn, Saint Edmund's huntsman. King Edmund exposes the murderer in an open boat just as the latter had done to his victim. Wind and waves carry Biorn to Denmark, where he incites the sons of Lothebrok to take vengeance on Saint Edmund, who thus is martyred at their hands.

It is interesting to see that Freeman here points out a parallel from floating viking tales, which also got recorded in Iceland though in a different form (*Ragnars saga Loðbrókar*).

But still more interesting is the fact that Freeman quotes another parallel to our motif from Roger of Wendover, who, as we have seen, did not use it in telling the legend of Athelstan.

I here quote the story as translated by J. A. Giles in Roger of Wendover's *Flowers of History*, London, 1849, pp. 311-312 (Bohn's Antiquarian Library):

A.D. 1054. Eadward king of England kept the festival of Easter at Winchester, and as he sat at meat, his butler, while carrying the king's goblet of wine to the table, struck one foot against the floor, but recovering himself with the other, saved himself from falling. On seeing which, earl Godwin, who, as was his custom, sat with the king at table, remarked, "One brother has helped the other." To whom the king gave this cutting reply, "And my brother would now be able to aid me, had it not been for Godwin's treachery." Godwin, who had betrayed the king's brother [Alfred], not enduring this reply, said, "I know, O king, that you have me in suspicion touching the death of your brother; but, as God is true and righteous, may this morsel of bread choke me if ever your brother received his death or bodily harm through me or by my counsel." The king then blessed the morsel, which Godwin put into his mouth, and, being conscious of his guilt, he was choked and died. Seeing him pale and lifeless, the king exclaimed, "Take forth this dog and traitor, and bury him in a cross-way, for he is unworthy of Christian sepulture." But his sons who were present removed their father from the table, and buried him, without the king's knowledge, in the Old Minster of that city.

Freeman believes that the motif foot-helps-foot-as-brother-brother was a current one, ready to be fitted to any story where it could be used.

Still, since he does not quote any more parallels, I doubt whether this motif will be found outside of the Godwin legend in Anglo-Latin, Anglo-Norman, or English sources.

The factual basis for that story is Godwin's sudden death, reported in realistic detail in the C (Abingdon) MS of the *Old English Annals* under the year 1053 by a probably contemporary author.

We find the same concise unadorned report in the *Chronicle* of Florence of Worcester (d. 1118).

But in Henry of Huntington's *Chronicle*, written probably in the period 1125–1135, the legend of Godwin's death begins to take shape. Here we are told for the first time about the morsel of bread which Godwin prays may choke him if he has caused the death of the king's brother.

Still it is not until Roger of Wendover, printed above in English translation and in the Latin original in an Appendix, that we find the story of the stumbling butler with the foot-helps-foot motif, which after that sticks to the legend through several versions in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and English.

Matthew Paris (1195–1259) copies Roger of Wendover closely in his *Chronica Majora*. Slightly different versions are given in *Annales Monasterii de Wintonia* (510–1277), and by Richard of Cirencester (1355–1400) in his *Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Anglorum*.

The Anglo-Norman versions are found in *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie* (12th century), and *La Estoire de Seint AEdward le Rei* (ca. 1245).

In English we have Robert of Glouchester's *Chronicle*, the first part (A) written ca. 1300. Also a modern version, based on Henry of Huntington, is found in E. Bulwer-Lytton's *Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings* (ed. in *Everyman's Library*, 1906, pp. 152–153).

Samuel Singer starts with *Hamðismál* and *Völsunga saga*, assuming that the Danes brought the tale and the motif to England, where the motif got attached to the Athelstan legend as told by William of Malmesbury.

Singer does not know that Roger of Wendover uses the same motif in the story of Godwin's death, but he finds it in one of the

Anglo-Norman versions of the legend: *Histoire des ducs de Normandie* (ed. Michel, Paris, 1840, pp. 60 ff.).

Singer's remark that only the feet are mentioned in the English and Anglo-Norman versions is true, but he incorrectly attributes that form of the motif also to *Hamðismál*: *Hamðismál* and *Völsunga saga* agree against the English versions in mentioning both hands and feet.

Singer shows how a proverb has been crystallized from this motif in the Anglo-French area. He finds it in Italian and English translations of the *Somme le roi* or *Des vices et vertues* by Laurent du Bois, confessor of Philip the Bold of France (from ca. 1270).

The Italian version runs: *Quando l'unu di li pedi sfallissi, l'attru lu aiuta tantostu*. The English version in the Kentish *Ayenbite of Inwit* reads: *Huanne þe on uot slyt, þe oper him helpp*.

Though he probably knows them, Singer does not quote the Icelandic proverbs from Guðmundur Jónsson's collection, cited in Detter and Heinzel's Eddic commentary (*Sæmundar Edda*, Vol. II, p. 579):

Hönd veitir hendi lið, en fótr fæti.

Fótr verðr að veita fæti.

Hönd skal hendi fá (selja).

Hendr þurfa fóta við, og fætr handa.

Hönd skal hendi þvo, eða hvörgi hreinsast.

It is rather interesting to see that two of these proverbs reveal their connection with the *Hamðismál* motif by mentioning both hands and feet.

III

We shall now cast a glance backward to see whether we can discern a development in the history of the motif as represented by the three stages: *Hamðismál*—Legend of Athelstan—Death of Godwin.

We have already seen that *Hamðismál* mentions both hands and feet, while the later English versions use only feet. But that is an external, relatively unimportant feature.

Much more important is the fact that the motif in *Hamðismál* is of crucial import in the tragedy of the three brothers, the heroes of the story. Sgrli is killed because he utters these fatal

words, his brothers because they do not realize the profound significance of his utterance until too late. The events show that the brothers are killed because their foolishness has deprived them of Sqrli's help.

In the Legend of Athelstan the motif is not by any means so central a part of the story. It is true that it has a tragic significance for the *pincerna* (cupbearer, butler), who not only stumbles but also utters the fatal words and has to pay for them with his death. But instead of being the hero he is the villain of the story, which makes quite a difference.

If we finally examine the account of Godwin's death, we shall see that the motif has moved to the periphery of the story to this extent that the butler who stumbles is no longer involved in the consequences. But Godwin, the important villain in the story, is made to say the fatal words as a comment on the butler's behavior, thus starting the chain of action that leads to his own death. So that, in a way, the motif here remains central enough.

Appendix I

De ortu Ethelstani et de nece Edwini fratris ejus.

Erat in quadam villa opilionis filia, eleganti specie puella, quæ, quod non contulissent natales, formæ mercabatur gratia. Huic per visum monstratur prodigium, lunam de sua ventre splendere, et hoc lumine totam angliam illustrare. Quod cum mane ad sodales detulisset ludo, ab illis non joculariter exceptum, confestim villicæ auribus, quæ regis filios nutrire solebat, insonuit. Illa, rem examinans, puellam intra lares suos receptam filiæ loco habuit; cultioribus vestimentis, cibis delicatioribus, gestibus facetioribus, virgunculam informans. Non multo post, filius regis Elfredi Edwardus, itineris casu per villam transiens, ad domum divertit infantilium rudimentorum olim consciam; neque enim integrum famæ suæ rebatur si nutricem salutare fastidiret: ubi visæ virginis amore captus, noctem petiit. Ipsa uno complexu gravidata, cum peperisset filium Ethelstanum, sompni fidem absolvit; nam cum ille, pueritia mortua, in adolescentiam evaderet, magnam spem regiæ indolis dabat, præclaris facinoribus approbatus. Itaque rege Edwardo defuncto, filius eius Elwardus, ex legitima conjuge creatus, patrem cita morte secutus. Tunc omnium spebus in Ethelstanum erectis, solus Elfredus, magnæ insolentiæ homo, cum suis clam restitit quod potuit, dedignatus subdi domino quem suo non delegisset arbitrio. Quo, ut superius rex retulit, prodito et exanimato, fuere qui fratrem regis Edwinum insidiarum insimularent: scelus horrendum et foedum, quod sedulitatem fratrenam sinistra interpretatione turbarent. Edwinus per se et per internuntios fidem germani implorans, et licet sacramento delationem infirmans, in exilium actus est. Tantum quorundam

mussitatio apud animum in multas curas distentum valuit, ut ephebum etiam eternis miserandum, oblitus consanguineæ necessitudinis expelleret; inaudito sane crudelitatis modo, ut solus cum armigero navem consendere juberetur, remige et remigio vacuam præterea vetustate quassam. Diu laboravit fortuna ut insontem terræ restitueret. Sed cum tandem in medio mari furorem ventorum vela non sustineret, ille, ut adolescens delicatus et vitæ in talibus pertæsus, voluntario in aquas præcipitio mortem conscivit. Armiger, saniori consilio passus, animam producere modo adversos fluctus eludendo, modo pedibus subremigando, domini corpus ad terram detulit angusto scilicet a Dorobernia in Witsant mari. Ethelstanus, postquam ira deferbuit, animo sedato factum exhorruit, septennique poenitentia accepta, in delatorem fratris animose ultus est. Erat ille pincerna regis, et per hoc ad persuadenda quæ excogitasset accommodus. Itaque cum forte die solempni vinum propinaret, in medio triclinio uno pede lapsus, altero se recollegit, tunc occasione accepta, fatale sibi verbum emisit, "Sic frater fratrem adjuvat." Quo rex audito perfidum obtruncari præcepit, sæpius auxilium germani, si viveret, increpitans, et mortem ingemiscens.⁶

A parallel passage is found in Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1890, Vol. I, p. 493 (Rolls Series 95), which in turn is copied almost verbatim by Matthew Paris in his *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1872, Vol. I, pp. 449-450 (Rolls Series 57), and by Richard of Cirencester in his *Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ*, ed. J. E. B. Major, London, 1869, pp. 63-64 (Rolls Series 30).

The final statement in these versions which are without the foot-help-foot motif runs as follows:

Æthelstanus rex, postquam ab ira deferbuit, tam enorme factum abhorrens, septenni poenitentia accepta fratricidium deflevit, pincernamque suum qui tale ei consilium dederat crudeli morte damnavit.

Appendix II

De morte turpissima Godwini proditoris.

1. Anno Domini MLIV.^o Rex Anglorum Eadwardus Paschalem sollempnitatem apud Wintoniam celebravit. Rege igitur in hac sollempnitate ad mensam sedente, cum pincerna ejus cyphum regium vino plenum mensæ tenus gestaret, pedem unum ad domus pavementum offendit, sed altero sese pede recolligens, casum evasit. Quod videns comes Godwinus ac gener regis, qui de more regi prandenti assidebat, ait, "Hic frater fratri auxilium fecit." Ad quem rex ironice loquens respondit, dicens: "Frater meus mihi modo auxiliare, nisi fuissent insidiæ Godwini." Quod verbum regis Godwinus nimis moleste ferens respondit: "Scio, rex," inquit, "scio, quia de morte fratris tui Alfredi me habetis suspectum. Sed Deus, qui verax et justus est, hanc quam teneo panis buccellam non permittat guttur meum sine suffocatione transire, si umquam frater tuus per me vel per concilium meum morti propior et a vita remotior fuit." Et hoc dicto rex

⁶ Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, London, 1887, Vol. I, pp. 155-157 (Rolls Series 90).

buccellam benedixit, quam in os ejus mittens Godwinus, sibi male conscius, ab illa suffocatur. Quem rex exanimem videns et pallentem, "Extrahite," inquit, "hinc canem hunc et proditorem et in quadrio illum sepelire. Indignum enim est ut Christianam se habere gaudeat sepulchrum." Quod videntes filii ejus, qui affuerunt, extraherunt patrem de mensa, et rege ignorante in Veteri monasterio ejusdem civitatis sepelierunt eum.⁷

2. Assés tot apriès che moru li rois, et Mardocheus [Harde-Canute] ses freres fu rois. Chil fist de Normendie venir à soi Evrart [Edward], ki estoit ses freres de par son pere; et partirent entre els le regne. (Puis assés tost morut Mardechenus, et Euwars ot tout le regne.) Cil Evrars par conseil pardonna au conte Come son mautalent, et si prist à feme Ydain sa fille; mais onques à lui ne jut. Un jor demanda li cuens à sa fille por coi elle n'ençaintoit, et elle respondi à son pere: "Sire, che seroit mervelle, car je ne sai que hom set faire, ne onques ne le soi." Li cuens, quant il oï chou, si cuida bien ke li rois le hafst por l'amour de lui et por la mort Alvré son frere. .I. jor, apriès chou, avint que li rois et li cuens chevaüçoient coste à coste, et uns garçons errans à pié s'abuissa de l'un de ses piés et a poi k'il ne chai; mais il se retint de l'autre. Li cuens Gommès, ki le vit, dist tantost: "Ore ot mestier li uns piés a l'autre." Li rois, quant il l'oï, si dist apres che: "Ausi m'eust Alvrés mes freres mestier, se il vesquist." Et quant li cuens oï chou, puis ne sonna mot, dès que il furent herbreigié; et quant il se sissent al mangier, li rois et li cuens Gomes, li cuens prist .i. morsièl, si dist au roi: "Sire, vous me mescreés de la mort vostre frere; mais si puisséjou passer cest morsièl, que jou en sa mort coupes n'oi!" Il mist le morsièl en sa bouche, si estrangla et moru; puis fu cuens Heraus ses fuis.⁸

3. Cum dist la verraie geste,
Un jur de Paske, a la grant feste,
Au manger seit li rois,
Si cunte e barun au dois;
U seit li quens Godwins,
servi un sergantz des vins,
La cupe lu roi gentement

⁷ Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1890, Vol. I, pp. 572-573 (Rolls Series 95).

Roger of Wendover's story is almost verbatim copied by Matthew Paris in his *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1872, Vol. I, pp. 523-524 (Rolls Series 57).

Later Latin versions of the story are found in: *Annales Monasterii de Wintonia* (A.D. 510-1277), published in *Annales Monastici*, Vol. II, ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1865, pp. 25-26 (Rolls Series 36), and Richard de Cirencester, *Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliae*, ed. J. E. B. Major, London, 1869, pp. 277-278 (Rolls Series 30).

⁸ *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie*, publ. par Francisque Michel, Paris, 1840, pp. 60-61. The source, Guillaume de Jumièges's *Histoire des Normands*, does not contain the passage dealing with Godwin's death.

portant sur co pavement;
 As desgrez du dois quant munte,
 Ceste du pè, dunt a hunte;
 a pou k'a terre n'est chaet;
 Mais en estat l'austre le met,
 Tent sa cupe, estant se dresce,
 Ne se damage, ne se blesce,
 Del un pè ki l'autre aida.
 Quens Godwins au rei dit a,
 "Co fist l'un al autre frère
 sucurs, ki en peril ere."
 Respunt li rois, k'ent ert pensifs,
 "Si pust men moi, si il fust vifs,
 Si vus, quens, l'usses sufert."
 Li quens la culur mue et pert,
 Ki pur voir sun frère ot mort,
 Dunt quant oient recort
 S'il curages le remort
 Kar en out pecché e tort,
 Nel pout cuverrir u taire u feindre:
 E ad dit: "Ai rois, ben sire,
 Mut m'as meu grant duel e ire,
 E n'est merveille si il me gret;
 Reprové m'as la mort Alfred
 Vostre frère; dunt cupes n'ai,
 Apertement co pruverai.
 La ramosne mut me greve."
 Atant un morsel prent [e] leve:
 E dist, "Si pusse jo joïr
 Cest mors, ke me veïs tenir,
 Ke veanz vus tuz mangerai,
 De cele mort ke cupes n'ai,
 Tuit le verret a la table;
 Si en sui quites u cupable."
 Li rois Aedward le mors benoit,
 E dist, "Duoint Deus les pruf voirs soit."
 Li quens le met en sa buche,
 Li mors s'ahert cum une zuche
 Enmie l'entrée du goittrun
 Au traître fel glutun,
 Ke tut li mangant le virent;
 Andui li oil en chef li virent,
 Char li nercist, e devient pale.
 Tut sunt esbaiz en la sale.
 L'aleine e parole pert
 Par le morsel ki ferm s'ahert.

Morz est li senglant felun;
 Mut out force la benaicun,
 Ke duna a mors vertu,
 Par unc la mort provée fu
 "Atant," se escrie li rois,
 Treiez hors ceu chen punois."
 Par ses amis par aventure,
 Fu le cors mis en sepulture,
 Pur la reine au franc curage
 E sez fiz e sun lignage.⁹

4.

Seint edward held at windelsore. a uair feste wiþ alle.
 An as zong mon biuore him. seruede in þe halle.
 He spornde wiþ is o vot. þat he vel alмест abrod.
 Ac he hente mid is oþer vot. so þat he abod.
 Þe erl godwine þe false mon. sede þo þat þe on broþer.
 As ze seþ in nede. helpeþ þere þat oþer.
 Þo ansuerede þe king. and sede so miȝte me.
 Mi broþer helpe godwine. ȝif he moste uor þe.
 Þo was þis luper godwine. of ssamed suiþe sore.
 Sire he sede ȝut me þinþ. þat in ortrou þou art more.
 To me of þi broþer deþ. & leuest hom ich ise.
 Þat in falsnesse þe tolde. þat ich ssolde þi traytour be.
 As wis deme god þat soþe. þat of ech þing wot ende.
 & al so late þis mossel bred. þoru mi þrote wende.
 Withoute harm as inadde. neuere in no cas.
 Gult of þi broþer deþ. ne þi traytour neuere inas.
 Þe mossel he dude in his mouþ. ac þe king it blessed er.
 Hit bileuede amidde his þrote. astrangled he was riȝt þer.
 & deide atte borde al stif. wiþ ssendnesse ynou.
 Out al bineþe þe borde. harald his sune him drou.
 A þousend in þe ȝer of grace. & þre & fifti þis was.
 Lute harm þei ech traitor. endede in þis cas.¹⁰

⁹ *La Estoire de Seint AEdward le Rei*, from ca. 1245, published in *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1858, pp. 117-119 (Rolls Series 3).

This poem is supposed to be a translation from *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* and *Vita Edwardi* by Aelred of Rievaulx (1109-1166).

¹⁰ *The Metrical Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucheſter. Ed. W. Aldis Wright. Part II. London, 1887, pp. 507-508 (Rolls Series 86).

SEMANTIC AND ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES ON OLD NORSE POETIC WORDS

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I

VITNIR, *kenning for wolf*. There can be no doubt but that the root *vit-* in *vit-nir* represents the same root *vit-* as in *vita* 'to know,' but it is a question as to exactly what the basic sense of *vit-* in *vit-nir* was, i.e., whether it has reference (1) to the animal's senses (cf. *vit*, subst., 'intelligence'), as Finnur Jónsson believes ("med [skarpe] sanser," *Lex. Poet.*², s.v.) or (2) to either the wolf's hostile character ("attacker, robber") or his rôle as "defender, guardian," as Elof Hellquist assumes.¹ In order to determine the plausibility of any one of these hypotheses it is necessary to discuss the various compounds of *-vitnir*, for it is possible that these compounds may shed some light on the original sense of the word. After the word *vitnir* had become established as a kenning for 'wolf,' the original sense of the word undoubtedly became obscured in favor of certain secondary senses applied to the wolf, e.g., his *fleetness*, *greed*, etc. Herein lies, as with most kennings, the main difficulty in determining the basic sense of the word. All that I can hope to do is to show in how far *-vitnir* in compounds can be interpreted as consonant in meaning with the basic senses which Jónsson and Hellquist have postulated for the word. If my interpretation of these compounds is correct, it will at least reveal which of these basic senses for the stem *vit-* we may most plausibly assume for *vit-nir*. The compounds of *-vitnir* are *Blind-*, *graf-*, *hlunn-*, *Hröð(rs)-*,

¹ Cf. Hellquist, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 7 (1891), p. 23: "*vitner* m. < **vitan* 's. ser, besöker (*hemsöker*); bevakar': got. *witan* (3 p. *witaip*) med dessa bet. (jfr t. ex. *gravitner*)."

Cleasby-Vigfússon connect (s.v.) the word *vit-nir* with *vitt* 'magic': "... no doubt from its being a charmed, bewitched animal (witches rode on wolves). . . ." For this sense of *vit* compare *vit-ki* 'wizard.' But the magic attributes of the wolf play an inconspicuous rôle as compared with the animal's other qualities. I have, therefore, discarded this etymology in my discussion.

malm-, *Mið-*, *Mjǫð-*, *Móð-*, *Spor-*, *Þjóð-vitnir*. In the following survey I shall omit, however, the compounds *Hrðð(rs)-* and *Þjóð-vitnir*. Inasmuch as the first elements of these compounds are mere intensives (*Hrðð-* 'famous,' *Þjóð-* 'great'), these compounds cannot possibly furnish any additional evidence.

1. *Blind-vitnir*, an eagle, or the name of an eagle, "hvis vit, sanser, er blinde" (FJ,² s.v.). Since both eagles and wolves are beasts of prey, a kenning for wolf could easily have been transferred to the eagle. The element *Blind-* furnishes no evidence in favor of Jónsson's definition over that of Hellquist, viz., "the attacker, robber, watcher (for prey)," which applies equally well to both animals.

2. *Graf-vitnir*, kenning for snake, 'the grave-wolf,' "gravende eller gravens ulv" (FJ, s.v.). Monsters, such as snakes and dragons, were the proverbial guardians of buried (*graf-*) treasures, and hence the compound *graf-vitnir* clearly favors Hellquist³ (*vit-* = Goth. *witan* [ai] 'to watch over') over against Jónsson.

3. *Hlunn-vitnir*, kenning for ship, 'wolf of the ship-rollers,' "rullestok-ulv" (FJ, s.v.). Two basic senses of *vit-* are possible in this compound, i.e., either "one who knows (senses) the ship-rollers" (FJ) or "one who guards (keeps to) the ship-rollers" (Hellquist), although the latter seems the more plausible. Perhaps here the original sense of *-vitnir* was completely obscured in favor of a secondary characteristic of the wolf, viz., his *speed*, which could easily be appropriate to a ship (cf. *Spor-vitnir* [see I, 8, below], the name of a horse, and *hlunn-vigg* 'horse of the ship-rollers,' kenning for ship).

4. *Malm-vitnir*, kenning for sword, 'metal-wolf,' "malm-ulv" (FJ, s.v.). Here *-vitnir* obviously denotes the hostile nature of the wolf and clearly supports Hellquist's assumption of a basic sense 'to attack' (cf. ON *vitja* 'to visit' > 'to attack').

5. *Mið-vitnir*, name of a giant, father of *Sǫkkmímir*. We do not know what the element *Mið-* means, but as applied to a giant, the name *Mið-vitnir* seems to favor Hellquist, inasmuch as the giants were the proverbial enemies of the gods and mankind. For *Mið-* compare *Miði* (name of a giant), perhaps denot-

² "FJ" refers to Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon Poeticum*².

³ Hellquist's reference to this word (see footnote 1, above) as "gravitner" must be a misprint for *grafvitner*.

ing a creature whose nature was *between* that of a giant and a god.⁴

6. *Mjǫð-vitnir*, name of a dwarf,⁵ 'Mead-wolf,' "som drikker megen mjǫð el. mjǫðraner" (FJ, s.v.). Gering (*Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, Vol. I, p. 14) gives the same definitions as does FJ, viz., "*Mjǫðvitner* 'metwolf' ('säufer' oder 'meträuber'?)."

If the name *Mjǫð-vitnir* means 'Toper' ("säufer"), then *-vitnir* may be equated with the names *Freki* and *Geri* 'the Greedy One,' which were applied to the wolf (cf. *Grm.* 19, 1), i.e., *Mjǫð-vitnir* = *Mjǫð-freki*, *-geri* 'One greedy for mead.' Thus, a secondary characteristic of the wolf (viz., his *greed*) could have obscured the original sense of the stem *vit-* in *-vitnir*.

If *Mjǫð-vitnir* means 'Mead-robber,' then only Hellquist's derivation is justifiable, viz., "One who attacks ('hemsöker'), robs the mead." At any rate, there is nothing in the compound *Mjǫð-vitnir* to support FJ's hypothesis.

7. *Mǫð-vitnir*, name of a dwarf, 'Raging Wolf.' If this is the correct translation⁶ of *Mǫð-vitnir*, then *-vitnir*, as in *malm-vitnir* (cf. I, 4, above), clearly supports Hellquist's assumption of a basic sense 'to attack.'

8. *Spor-vitnir*, name of a horse, 'Track-wolf,' "spor-ulv" (FJ, s.v.). As in the case of *hlunn-vitnir* (cf. I, 3, above), two basic senses seem possible, viz., either "One who *knows* the track" (FJ) or "One who *guards* (*keeps to*) the track" (Hellquist).

Gering (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 101) translates *Sporvitner* by "der den sporn kennende (?)" and adds the remark: "Dass im zweiten teile des kompositums das ulfsheiti *vitner* steckt, ist sehr unwahrscheinlich." In the first place, ON *spor* does not mean Germ. "sporn" ('spur') but 'a spoor, a track, footprint,' etc. Then again, he does not state what basic sense or senses he assumes for the *ulfsheiti vitner*. In *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 179 (*Vpm.* 53, 4), Gering accepts Hellquist's derivation of *vitner* as "der heimsucher"⁷ but without reference to the other senses of the root *vit-* which Hellquist assumes. As shown above, the word *-vitnir* in *Spor-vitnir* is

⁴ Cf. FJ (p. 404*), under *miðjungur*.

⁵ Cf. C. N. Gould, *PMLA*, Vol. 44 (1929), pp. 951 and 961.

⁶ FJ gives no definition of the word.

⁷ "... das ulfsheiti *vitner*, durch welches das raubtier als der 'heimsucher' bezeichnet wird (Hellquist, *Ark.* 7, 23). ..."

consonant with the sense of the *ulfsheiti vitnir*. Here, however, as in the case of *hlunn-vitnir*, we may have to do with a secondary characteristic of the wolf, viz., his *speed*. The *wolf* may be equated with the *horse* as a *fleet* animal (cf. I, 3, above), just as with the *eagle* (cf. *Blind-vitnir*, I, 1, above) as a *beast of prey*.

The evidence furnished by these compounds of *-vitnir*, so far as it has any validity, appears to favor Hellquist's hypothesis over that of Finnur Jónsson, for while both hypotheses are possible, a basic sense of 'attack, rob' or of 'guard, watch over' (Hellquist) seems to predominate over that of 'know, scent, sense,' etc. (FJ). This evidence is in keeping with the proverbial ON conception of the wolf as the enemy and outlaw of mankind. The many kennings used with *ulfr* and the many proper names compounded with *ulfr*⁸ all give evidence of this hostile sense rather than of that of a beast of prey whose senses (or scent) are keen. The evidence, however, does not exclude Finnur Jónsson's hypothesis as impossible. All the senses postulated by both Jónsson and Hellquist may have been originally present in the word *vitnir*. But whether they were or not, it seems certain that the original senses were later confused with each other, especially when either one or another could fit the sense of the compound. This possibility neither Jónsson nor Hellquist has evidently taken into consideration, and it is undoubtedly the failure to recognize this possibility that led Gering to deny in the compound *Spor-vitnir* the *ulfsheiti vitnir*.

II

Þrasir, a proper name, 'One who rages, is furious.' The name *Þrasir* represents a *nomen agentis* from the verb *þrasa*⁹ 'to be in a rage, to threaten,' etc. The simplex *Þrasir* occurs as the name of a dwarf (cf. Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 955), and a corresponding *Þras-arr* appears as a name for Odin. For both these names the literal sense of *þras-* 'to rage, to be in a fury' seems perfectly appropriate. But it is hard to reconcile this literal sense of *Þrasir* with the sense required for it in compounds. The compounds in which *-þrasir* occurs are the proper names (1) *Dólg-þrasir*, (2) *Líf-þrasir*, (3) *Mog-þrasir*.

⁸ Cf. FJ (p. 577^b), under *úlfr*.

⁹ Cf. *Lokasenna* 58, 2: *hvi þrasir þú svá, þórr?* Cf. also Gothic *þrasa-balþei* (*Sk.* 5, 11) 'quarrelsomeness,' and Mod. Icel. *þrasa* 'to wrangle, quarrel.'

1. Of these names, only *Dólg-þrasir* apparently expresses the literal sense of *-þrasir*. *Dólg-þrasir* is the name of a dwarf, which Gould (*op. cit.*, p. 943) translates by "Battle-eager" (cf. FJ, s.v.: "kampivrig"). A more literal translation would probably be 'One furious (*-þrasir*) towards an enemy (*Dólg-*)' or 'One furious in battle.' At any rate, there is nothing in the dwarf name *Dólg-þrasir* which could justify any interpretation of *-þrasir* as having a sense different from that present in the simplex *þrasir* 'One who is furious, Snorter,' etc.

2. *Líf-þrasir* occurs in *Vþm.* 45, 1, and paired with the name *Líf*:

Líf ok Lífþrasir, en þau leynask munu
í holti Hoddmimis. . .

The names *Líf* and *Lífþrasir* refer to the parents of the new race of man which is to be born after the great "fimbulvetr." The words are obviously used synonymously as the personification of *life*, and therefore the element *-þrasir*, added to *Líf-* ('Life'), cannot have preserved its literal sense of 'One who is furious,' etc. but must have acquired a secondary sense in harmony with that of *Líf-*.

Gering (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 175) translates *Lífþrasir* by "der durch seine lebenskraft sich erhaltende," and FJ (s.v.) likewise by "livet fastholdende," both of which definitions fit the sense of *Lífþrasir* as one of the parents who survived the "fimbulvetr." But it is difficult to see how *-þrasir*, which otherwise denotes 'One who is furious,' could have acquired the sense of "One who holds (to life), who preserves himself (through his vitality)." In confirmation of this sense Gering (*loc. cit.*) refers to (dialectic) Norw. *traassug*, *trassig* 'udholdende, utrættelig' (Aasen, 830*), and I believe that these Norw. dialectic words do furnish us with a clue as to the transition in meaning of *-þrasir* from 'One who is furious' to 'One who holds fast to,' namely, 'furious, raging' > 'stubbornly resisting'; hence *Lífþrasir* = 'One stubbornly, persistently maintaining life, One hard to kill.'

3. *Mög-þrasir* occurs in *Vþm.* 49, 2, but furnishes no further clue as to the sense of *-þrasir*:

þriar þjóðir¹⁰ falla þorp yfir
meyja Mögþrasis. . .

¹⁰ I follow here the emendated text in Gering's fourth edition (1922) of the *Elder Edda*.

The passage is obscure and has been subject to various interpretations. We do not know to whom the name *Mogþrasir* refers or how the genitive case of the word should be construed (whether with *meyja* or with *þorp*).

FJ (p. 418^a, s.v.) construes *Mogþrasir* with *þorp* and translates the two words by "menneskenes bygd," explaining the term as a "symbolisk betegnelse for mennesket, egl 'sønner-ønskende' . . ."

Gering (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 177) admits the possibility of FJ's interpretation and translates *Mogþrasir* by "der einen sohn (oder nachkommenschaft) sich ertrotzende," which accords with his translation of *-þrasir* in *Líf-þrasir* "der durch seine Lebenskraft sich erhaltende." Later on (*loc. cit.*), he suggests that the word *Mogþrasir* should be construed with *meyja*, but this does not affect his interpretation of the name *Mog-þrasir*.

Boer (*Commentar*, p. 58) suggests that *Mogþrasir* represents the same person as *Lífþrasir* in 45, 1: "*Mogþrasir* ist dieselbe person wie *Lífþrasir*. Solange er *í holti Hoddmtmis* verborgen bleibt, heisst er *Lífþrasir*, 'wer zu leben wünscht'; in der neuen welt, welche er mit söhnen bevölkern wird, heisst er *Mogþrasir*."

However we may interpret this passage, it is evident that in *Mog-þrasir* the element *-þrasir* has a derived sense just as in *Líf-þrasir*. Gering probably comes nearest to the literal sense of *Mog-þrasir* when he translates it by "der einen sohn sich ertrotzende." The basic sense of *-þrasir* 'One who rages' passed over into the secondary sense of 'One who is stubbornly persistent,' which, as we have seen, is a sense in keeping with *-þrasir* in *Lífþrasir*, i.e., *Mog-þrasir* = 'One who is persistent as regards a son': *Lífþrasir* = 'One who is persistent as regards life.'

III

Ögn 'water.' This word occurs among the names of rivers in the *Snorra Edda*, and rivers with this name are found in various parts of Norway.¹¹ As an appellative, the word *ögn* is confined to poetry, where it occurs (*HH*. I, 22, 3; *Fm*. 42, 4) in the well-known kenning for 'gold,' *ögnar ljómi* ('water's glitter, splendor'). Therefore, there can be no doubt but that the word *ögn* in the

¹¹ For references see Gering, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 83, under *ögnar ljóma* (*HH*. I, 22, 3).

sense of 'river, water' is a different word from *ógn* 'fear, terror' (cf. Goth. *ōgeins:ōgjan*, etc.).

Noreen (*Urgerm. Lautlehre*, §18, p. 59) derives the name *Aegir* 'the god of the sea' from PGmc **āgja-* (with quantitative ablaut vowel *ā*, and *g* < **h* according to Verner's Law), which has the same root as contained in PGmc **āhwō* > Goth. *alwa* > ON *ø* 'river.' The name *Aegir* would then literally mean 'One who has to do with the water' > 'god of the water.'¹² It seems to me equally probable that the word *ógn* 'water' is related to **āhwō* 'water' with the ablaut variation *ā:ō* characteristic of the sixth ablaut series of the strong verb (cf. **āhwa:ógn* 'water' with *agi:ógn* 'fear' [Goth. *agands:ōg* from the verb **agan* 'to fear'], *skaði:skōð* 'injury' [Goth. *skapjan:skōþ* 'to injure'], *staðr* 'place':*stōðr* 'standing firm, firm' [ON *standa:stöð* 'to stand']]). The basic sense ('water') was preserved in the poetic word *óg-n* (with *n*-suffix, perhaps after the analogy of the prose word *vat-n* for 'water') but lost in the prose word¹³ *ø* ('water' > 'river'). Poetic words usually retain the original, basic sense longer than do prose words. In course of time, however, *ógn* 'water' likewise came to mean 'river,' possibly because the sense of 'water' already existed in the prose word *vatn*.

IV

Mq̄sma, Rígsþula 39, 3:

Réþ einn at þat	átjan buum,
aupi nam skipta,	ollum veita;
meiþmar ok mq̄sma	mara svangrifja;
hringum hreytti,	hjó sundr baug.

The word *mq̄sma*, acc. plur., occurs only in this passage, and its meaning and derivation are still a matter of conjecture. Since *mq̄sma* is here paired with *meiþmar* 'treasures, jewels' as object of the verb *veita* 'grant, bestow,' we may assume that *mq̄sma* is either a synonym of *meiþmar* or has a similar meaning (i.e., 'rare objects, treasures' of some particular kind).

¹² Cf. the kenning *ógnar ljómi* ('water's glitter') for 'gold' with *ægis bál* (*Háttatal*, 3), *ægis eldr* (*Sighvatr*, 13, 4) 'Aegir's flame, fire,' kennings for 'gold.'

¹³ Cf. ON *vatn:ø* with Germ. *Wasser:-ach, -a(a)* 'river' in geographical and proper names. It should be noted, too, that the Niebelungen hoard was thrown into the Rhine river, which fact is important in connection with the kenning *ógnar ljómi* 'water's splendor' for 'gold.'

Gering (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 363) discards the word *mqsme* (or *mqsne*), which occurs as a *bjarnar heiti* in a *pula* of the *Snorra Edda*, as identical with the word *mqsma* of our passage,¹⁴ and, I believe, with justification, for two reasons: (1) The MSS vary as to the form of the word (either *mqsme* or *mqsne*), so that we have no assurance that the correct form is *mqsme*. (2) Whereas there are in the sagas numerous instances of a bear being offered as a gift of honor, it is unreasonable to assume that Jarl would bestow a number of bears upon his friends, although such a gift in the case of horses (*marar svangrifja*) is perfectly fitting.

In regard to the derivation of the word, Gering (*loc. cit.*) rightly discards the Swedish dialectic word *masm*, fem., 'a case made of cloth or skin' as connected with *mqsma*, on account of its meaning.¹⁵

All attempts to emend the text in order to substitute a word which elsewhere existed and therefore could explain the word *mqsma* as a corruption have proved futile. Besides, the manuscript readings show no variation from the form *mqsma*, which we are justified in assuming as the correct form. The following derivation and the possible meanings of *mqsma* are offered as mere suggestions which may stimulate further investigation of this unexplained *hapax legomenon*.

One of the chief difficulties connected with the form *mqsma* is to explain the vowel *q* due to *u*-umlaut of *a*, a factor which Gering does not discuss (*ibid.*) in connection with the Swedish word *masm*. A root **mas*-¹⁶ 'stripe, spot' (cf. OHG *mās-a* 'wundmal, flecken,' with quantitative ablaut) appears in ON *mqs-urr* 'maple wood, spotted wood' (cf. OS *mas-ur*, OHG *mas-ar*, OFris. *mas-ere* 'schale aus waldahornholz,' Eng. *mazer*, etc.). The stem **mas-ur-* plus a suffix *-m* (cf. *mal-m-r* 'metal') could have appeared as a weak masculine stem **mas-ur-mē* > **mqsrme* >

¹⁴ "Dass 'bären' gemeint sein könnten . . . ist selbstverständlich ausgeschlossen." This statement is in refutation of Detter-Heinzel (*Kommentar*, p. 601): "Da Pferde folgen und der Bär als Geschenk bezeugt ist, so könnten allenfalls auch hier Bären gemeint sein."

¹⁵ " . . . auch das aus dem schwedischen Vesterbotten nachgewiesene fem. *masm* 'ett af tyg eller skinn gjordt etui, hvori förvaras nål, tråd, syring, fingerborg m.m. derjemte stundom äfven elldon' . . . das aus dem finnischen entlehnt sein soll, kann seiner bedeutung wegen nicht in betracht kommen."

¹⁶ Cf. Falk-Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etym. Wörterb.*, Vol. I, p. 704, under *masret*.

**mqsme*,¹⁷ nom. plur. **mqsmar*, acc. plur. *mqsma*. Through syncope the short *u* of the unaccented middle syllable could have disappeared (cf. *fjqlurr:fjqtra*) as well as the *r* between the two consonants *s* and *m* (cf. **feðrgar* > *feðgar*, **ulfrgi* > *ulfgi*). The word **mqsme* could then refer to some object of 'spotted wood.' In ODan. the verb *mase* signified 'bunt oder gesprenkelt machen,' and the dialectic Norw. verb *masa* means 'mit flammenfiguren malen,' from which meanings we may infer that ON **mqsmar* could signify wooden objects which were ornamented in some way (either by coloring or by engraving). We then arrive at a suitable meaning for the word *mqsma* in our passage, viz., 'precious objects of ornamented wood,' perhaps drinking-bowls (cf. *mqsur-bolli*, -*ker*, -*skál*) or wooden utensils of some kind.

V

Simul 'Cow' (?), 'Witch.' This word occurs in one of Snorre's *pulur* (*Sk. B I*, 659) as the name of a *witch*, and in another *pula* (*Sk. B I*, 587) its masculine counterpart *simull* appears as the word for *ox*. This fact has led Bugge (*Helgedigtene*, p. 248, footnote 3) to infer that the original sense of *simul* was 'cow,' which sense he applies to the word in *HH. I*, 44, 4. He supports his contention (*loc. cit.*) through the Mod. Norw. dialectic word *simla* (= *simle* in *riksmål*) 'Renko.'¹⁸

So far as *HH. I*, 44, 4 is concerned, it seems hardly probable that the word *simul* here has the literal sense of 'cow.' The passage reads:

pú brúpr Grana	á Brávelli
gollbitlu vast,	gqr til rásar;
hefk þér móþri	mart skeiþ riþit
svangri und soþli	<i>simull</i> forbergis.

Since *Sinfjotli* has already referred to *Gudmund* as "a mare" ("brúpr Grana"), it does not seem plausible that he would refer to him also as a "cow" ("simul"). Here it seems more reasonable to assume that the word *simul* is used simply as a term of con-

¹⁷ Not identical with *mqsme* 'bear.'

¹⁸ "Sinfjotle beskylder i Samtalen med Gudmund i første Kvad om Helge Hund. Gudmund for at have været en Troldkvinde. Han tiltaler ham (*Str. 42*) som *simul*, der sandsynlig betyder 'en Ko.' Ordet hører sammen med nynorsk *simla* 'Renko'. . . ."

tempt for a female creature, and since the word occurs in the *pula* as a name for a witch, we are justified in assuming that here *simul* likewise means 'witch' or perhaps 'giantess, female monster'.¹⁹

As regards the Mod. Norw. word *simla* 'Renntierkuh,' Falk-Torp derive the root *sim-* from an original **sem-*, in ablaut relation to **sm-* (as in *summer*), with a basic sense of 'an animal one *summer* old'.²⁰ If this is the correct etymology of the root *sim-* in *sim-ul* 'witch,' *sim-ull*,²¹ *sim-i*, *sim-ir* 'ox,' we may assume that the semantic development of *sim-ul* was 'a young female offspring' > 'a cow' (cf. Mod. Norw. *sim-la* 'reindeer cow': *sim-ull* 'ox') > a term of contempt ('witch, giantess'), when applied to human beings. For Sinfjötli's contemptuous reference to Gudmund (*HH. I*, 44, 4) as "a cow" (i.e., simply as a term of abuse), compare Sigrún's reference to Höðbrodd (*HH. I*, 19, 4) as "the son of a *cat*" ("kattar sun").²² Only the literal sense of *simul* 'reindeer cow' is preserved in Mod. Norw. *simla* (*simle*). The fact that the word *simul* occurs in the *Snorra Edda*²³ (*Sk. B II*, 568) also in the sense of 'wolf' indicates that the word could be applied to any animal monster, in keeping with its contemptuous sense as applied to human beings.

VI

Greppr 'man, warrior'; 'skald.' The word *greppr* in these senses is confined to poetry. In the *Elder Edda* it occurs twice (*Akv.* 10, 2; 14, 2) in the sense of 'man, warrior,' but in skaldic poetry it often appears in the sense of 'skald' (see FJ, p. 202*, s.v.). Regarding this sense of the word FJ (*loc. cit.*) says: "...

¹⁹ Cf. Sijmons-Gering, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 95 ("hexe"); Boer, *op. cit.*, p. 141 ("riesentochter").

²⁰ Cf. Falk-Torp, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 967, *Simle II*: "Hiernach liegt in den nord. Worten ein **sem-* vor, das ablaut zu **sm-* in *sommer* ist, was für die ableitungen die grundbedeutung 'jährlich' ergibt. . . ."

²¹ With *simul:simul* ('ox': 'cow') compare *Kýrr* (name of an ox in the *Þorgímspula*): *kýr* 'cow.'

²² en ek hef, Helgil Höðbrodd kveþinn
konung óneisan sem kattar sun.

²³ There also occurs a form *syimul* in the sense of 'wolf,' which is probably only a variant reading for *simul*, due to scribal inaccuracy.

The word *Simul* which occurs in the *Snorra Edda* as the name of 'a pole, shaft' ("stqng") is no doubt a different word, perhaps a variant form of *Simul* from *sim-a*, *sim-i* 'rope'; cf. Anne Holtsmark, *Mål og Minne* (1945), p. 151.

(det er usikkert, hvilken betydning, mand el. digter, er den primære). . . .” Whether ‘man’ or ‘skald’ represents the primary sense of *greppr* depends entirely upon the etymology of the word.

I venture to suggest that *greppr* is derived from *hreppr* ‘a small community’ (cf. Eng. *Rape*). The root *hrepp*²⁴ (<*hrimp-) has a basic sense of ‘contract, crumple, fold’ (cf. OHG *hrimfan*:OE *hrimpan* ‘runzeln,’ etc.), and hence the substantive *hreppr* could have had the basic sense of ‘a (territorial) division’ (cf. *þveit*:OE *þvitan* ‘to cut off’; Eng. *shire*:OE *scieran*, ON *skera* ‘to cut’). From the root *hrepp*- a form **ga-hrepp-az* would yield *greppr* with a basic sense of ‘a member of a *hreppr*’ > ‘a man’ in general > ‘a warrior, hero,’ etc. (cf. Goth. *ga-razna* [*razn* ‘house’] > ON *granne* ‘member of a household’ > ‘neighbor’; Goth. *ga-sinþa* [*sinþs* ‘journey’] > ON *sinne* ‘companion on a journey’). From the basic sense of ‘a member of a community’ the word *greppr* could easily be applied either to a member of a military body of men (cf. *Akv.* 14, 2; “*Bupla greppar*” = “Buthle’s men”) and hence come to mean ‘warrior, hero,’ etc. or to a particular member of the king’s court, hence ‘poet, skald.’ The skald was a distinguished person (*greppr*) in the royal *comitatus*.

In prose, on the other hand, the word *greppr* is restricted to the sense of ‘monster, beast, ghost,’ etc. This secondary meaning is best explained as due to a later folk-etymological association with the adjective *greypr* ‘cruel, fierce.’ In support of this assumption is the fact that an adjectival form *greppi-ligr* appears in the same sense as *greypi-ligr* ‘fierce.’ Since the substantive *greppr* represents an *a*-stem, the *-i-* in the adjective *grepp-i-ligr* must be due to the *-i-* in *greypr-i-ligr*. Since the word *greppr* occurs in the sense of ‘warrior’ (with whom are associated the characteristics of fierceness and cruelty), the word could easily be applied to ‘a fierce monster,’ under the influence of the adjective *greypr* ‘fierce, cruel.’ For a parallel development of meaning from ‘fierce warrior’ to ‘monster, demon,’ etc. compare *gramr* ‘fierce’: *gramr*, subst., ‘fierce warrior, hero’ > ‘king’: *gramer* ‘fierce demons, monsters.’

VII

Hnefi ‘Fist’; ‘Tree’? The word *hnefi* always means ‘clenched

²⁴ Cf. Falk-Torp, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 900, under *Rimpe*.

hand, fist,' except in *Am.* 69, 2, where it apparently has the sense of 'tree':

í kné gengr *hnefi*, ef kvistir þverra,
tré tekr at hníga, ef högggr tóg undan:

Almost all commentators interpret *hnefi* here either as 'a tree' or as 'a tree trunk,'²⁵ and the sense of the passage seems to confirm this interpretation. Here Gudrun acknowledges to Atli that he has gained the upper hand over her, but she expresses her defeat in metaphorical language, comparing herself to a tree that is about to fall because its branches are withered and its roots hewn away. That "hnefi" here refers to "tré" is obvious from the phrase "ef kvistir þverra" ("if the branches wither") and from the repetition of the metaphor ("tré tekr at hníga," "the tree begins to totter") in the next line.

No satisfactory explanation of a semantic shift from 'fist' to 'tree' has yet been given. Kock (*loc. cit.*) postulates a variant form *knefi*, which he connects with *knefill* (Germ. *Knebel*) 'stock, tvärträ.' But the MSS show no such variant form, and there is no reason why we should assume such a violation of the text. Assuming the form *hnefi* to be correct, we can explain a semantic shift from 'fist' to 'tree' only by postulating some intermediate sense which could lead to the meaning 'tree.' This sense may possibly have been furnished through the meaning which the word *hnefi* came to have in a game resembling chess, the so-called *hnefa-tafl*. In this game one of the carved figures was the *hnefi* 'king,' from which the game received its name. We know that the double sense of technical terms in the game of chess was a favorite feature of the sagas and was often resorted to when the speaker wished to veil his intentions.²⁶ Therefore it seems plausible that when Gudrun here uses the word *hnefi* she refers to 'the king' (*hnefi*) in the *hnefa-tafl*. The phrase "í kné gengr," appropriate to a tree, is equally appropriate to the *hnefi* 'king' in the sense of an opponent in the game of chess: "The king is brought to his knees"²⁷ (=checkmated)." She is Atli's opponent, and he

²⁵ Cf. Ernst Kock, *Arkiv*, Vol. 38, p. 290.

²⁶ Cf. especially *Friþjófs*., chap. III, utilized by Tegnér in his *Frithiofs saga*, "Frithiof spelar schack."

²⁷ Regarding the meaning of the phrase "í kné gengr *hnefi*," FJ says (p. 340^b, *kné*): "... at ganga í k., synes at måtte betyde 'at forringes, efterhånden

has "checkmated" her in her game (= quarrel) with him. This technical sense of *hnefi* 'king, opponent (in chess)' is applied to the metaphorical figure of "a tree which has been bereft of its means of life," just as "the king (in chess) has been brought to his knees (checkmated) by his opponent." Therefore, we may assume that *hnefi* here does not mean 'tree' but represents a (skaldic) substitution for 'tree,' due to the technical sense of the chess term: "the tree (*tré*)" = "the king (*hnefi*)" = "the opponent (*Gudrun*)" in this game = quarrel, i.e., Atli has checkmated the king (his opponent *Gudrun*) = *Gudrun* has been brought to her knees, *í kné gengr hnefi*. It must be borne in mind that *hnefi* 'the king' does not refer to King Atli but to *Gudrun*, his opponent in chess. The *hnefi* had the highest value of any figure on the chess board. Therefore, *Gudrun* uses the word *hnefi* in the sense of King Atli's chief opponent and says in effect: "You have checkmated me, your chief opponent; I fall to my knees like a tree whose branches are withered and whose roots have been hewn beneath it." This interpretation is supported by the fact that chess terms, like skaldic kennings, were used in a double sense, and by the fact that otherwise a semantic development from 'fist' to 'tree' is impossible.

VIII

Ulf's hnitbróður, *Hym. 24, 4*. The meaning of this designation for the Mithgarths-serpent is still a matter of conjecture. The difficulty lies in the interpretation of the element *hnit-* in the compound *hnit-bróður*. All commentators are agreed that *hnit-* here is connected with the root *hnit-* in *hnita* 'to weld together, knit.'

Gering (*Glossar*, p. 85^a) translates *hnitbróður* by "kampíge-nosse," presumably because he identifies *hnit-* with the substantive *hnit*, neutr., which in skaldic poetry signifies 'a striking together' of arms in battle (cf. *við fleina hnit* 'in the clash of arrows' = 'in battle'). But since the Mithgarths-serpent is in reality the brother of the Fenris-wolf, this interpretation must be discarded as not in keeping with the obviously literal sense of *-bróður* 'brother.'

FJ (p. 269^a) translates *hnitbróður* by "kødelig broder," i.e., at gå til grunde' . . . " Such a strained interpretation is obviated if we assume the phrase to refer to "a king brought to his knees," like a tree about to fall.

"a brother in the flesh, a *full* brother." He bases his interpretation upon the sense of the substantive *hnit*, fem., which refers to "two pieces of wood which belong together in the head of a rake." Evidently, then, FJ considers *hnit*- to signify a brother who was '*knit* or welded together' in the flesh (race) with the Fenris-wolf. But there seems no reason why the poet should have added the element *hnit*-, inasmuch as the two monsters were natural brothers.

Neckel (*Glossar*², p. 81^a) goes a step further by interpreting FJ's "*kødelig broder*" as perhaps implying "an inseparable brother" ("*leiblicher od. untrennbarer bruder*"). But again, there seems no reason to believe that the poet here conceived of these two monsters as "*inseparable* brothers."

The most plausible interpretation of *hnitbróður* is to assume that *hnit*- here has reference not only to blood relation but also to character or nature. The substantive *hnit*, fem., to which FJ refers, could signify 'two *like* pieces of wood,' since they belong together in the same body of the implement: two things welded together could be considered *alike*. Indeed, Sijmons (Gering's *Kommentar*, Vol. I, p. 267) points out the fact that the Mod. Icel. adjective *hnit-jafn* means "vollkommen gleich." The idea of *identity* in blood relation could easily pass over into (or imply) the idea of *identity* in nature, kind, character (cf. Eng. *kin:kind*; ON *kyn* 'race, kin': *allz kyns* 'of all kinds'; *konr* 'son, descendant of a royal family': *hvers konar* 'of what kind'). Assuming this derived sense of *hnit-bróður* from 'brother of the same brood' to 'brother of the same *kind, nature*,' we arrive at a motivation for the poet's use of *hnit*:- the Fenris-wolf was of 'the same brood = *nature*' as the Mithgarths-serpent, a *horrible monster*, which Thor has slain. The implication is that it was an heroic deed to slay a monster of the same brood as the Fenris-wolf. FJ's interpretation of *hnitbróður* as "*kødelig broder*" is colorless and does not reflect any poetic conception. On the other hand, the interpretation of *hnitbróður* as 'a monster brother' (i.e., as 'a *like* brother,' 'a brother just *like* the Fenris-wolf,' a monster) furnishes a motivation for the use of the element *hnit*- and at the same time does not violate the sense of *hnit*- 'welded together' > 'identical in kin' > 'identical in character.' For FJ's "*kødelig broder*" I should suggest "(ulvens) *egle broder*."

STUDIES IN SCANDINAVIAN PHILOLOGY PUBLISHED IN SWEDEN IN 1947

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AT THIS writing, the scholarly bibliographies for the year 1947 have not yet appeared, and the bibliographies published in 1947 as well as the useful lists of "insänd litteratur" compiled by the editors of various philological publications have reference to 1946 and earlier years.¹

In the field of textual criticism from the linguistic point of view, an impressive contribution has been made by Arne Bengtson in his *Nils Ragvaldi, Domareboken och Linköpingslegendariet. En filologisk författarbestämning och ett bidrag till kännedomen om det senmedeltida vadstenaspråket*.² By comparing Old Swedish texts with earlier versions, both Latin and German, Bengtson not only establishes the authorship of a number of the Swedish texts, but gives a valuable account of the methods employed by the translators, Nils Ragvaldi (Nikolaus Ragvaldi, Nils Ragvaldsson) in particular. The so-called phonological method of investigation could not be employed inasmuch as there is no known original Swedish MS by this skillful translator from German and Latin; certain German *incunabula* have been used among others. Nils Ragvaldi's importance for the development of the Swedish language stands out as considerable.

¹ See especially *Arkiv för nordisk filologi; Acta philologica scandinavica; Nysvenska studier. Tidskrift för svensk stil- och språkforskning; Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv. Tidskrift utgiven av Landsmåls- och Folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala genom Dag Strömbäck; Modersmålslärares förening. Årsskrift 1947. See also Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet. Häfte 196. Fornsvensk bibliografi. Suppl. II. Förteckning över Sveriges medeltida bokskatt på modersmålet 1918-44 samt därtill hörande litterära hjälpmedel. Utarbetad av Isak Collijn, Stockholm and Uppsala, 1946, pp. i-vi, 123-297. The sections on paleography and language are of special interest here. Many of the publications, though they appeared in 1947, bear the date 1946.*

² *Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetenskap utgivna av Ivar Lindquist och Karl Gustav Ljunggren*, Lund, 1947, pp. 1-273. The work includes two plates; a German summary is provided.

Arkiv för nordisk filologi contains three articles on somewhat similar topics.³ In "Hertig Fredriks datering" Per Wieselgren attempts to solve the problem of the chronology of the translated romances *Hertig Fredrik* and *Ivan Lejonriddaren*. This problem is central to our understanding of the origin and place of the *Eufemiavisor* in literary history; Wieselgren asserts that previous discussions by Noreen, Schück, and V. Jansson have not penetrated to the kernel of the problem. After making a comparative study, he concludes that whereas we cannot determine whether the original reworking was Norwegian or Swedish, whether the *Eufemiavisor* were written by two or by three different authors, nor even exactly when they were composed, we can nevertheless be sure that *Fredrik* is older in Scandinavian than *Ivan*.⁴ The second contribution is by Einar Lundeby, "Vokalismen hos hånd a (hovedhånden) i NkS 1640 qv."⁵ The MS in question is a parchment codex in the Royal Library at Copenhagen and contains Norwegian legal documents attributed by Storm to the period 1280-1300. Lundeby describes the MS and reviews previous commentary. After analyzing the language from the point of view of orthography, accent and quantity, umlaut and breaking, and vowel harmony for their bearing on the probable place of origin of the MS, he pronounces the work archaic and traditional in language, without marked signs of dialect, although the scribe's own dialect was probably not the same as that of the MS. Both Eastern and Western dialects have contributed here, but the author favors "Oplandene" as the place of origin and suggests Hamar, the cultural center of Østlandet. The third contribution is by J. Palmér, "Den okända handen i reformations-skrifterna från år 1526."⁶ Palmér attacks the problem which arises from the fact that the orthography of Sweden's oldest Reformation publications, *Een Nyttwgh Wnderwijsning* and the Swedish New Testament of 1526, departs from the orthography of the reformers themselves. He analyzes sixteen main types of

³ *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*. Sextioandra bandet. Femte följden. Sjätte bandet. Häfte 1-2, Lund, 1947.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-119.

difference and shows that changes from Olaus Petri's orthography "snarare skett vid renskrivningen än vid själva tryckningen, att den m. a. o. bör tillskrivas en renskrivare." Untangling the details of the various corrections, the author points out that despite similarities there is a clear line of demarcation between *kanslispråk* and *bibelspråk*. In "En gammal visbok" Ingeborg Lagercrantz discusses a theological MS which has reposed in the Uppsala University Library since 1916, catalogued as "T 144b papp. 4:0" and labelled by its former owner, Professor O. Quensel, "Psalmer och andliga sånger från 1600-talet." This comparative study traces the relationship of the material to similar literature elsewhere. After several guesses as to the *scriptor*, the author concludes that further research is needed to establish this.

In the lexicographical field, it should be noted that the Swedish Academy has brought its great dictionary down to the word "*nominell*."⁷ The indefatigable Olof Östergren has in his turn brought his dictionary as far as the word "*strullik*."⁸ Of a rather different sort is Gösta Langenfelt's dictionary of military slang in vogue during the last three centuries.⁹ The work begins with an account of the origin and development of the concepts "jargon" and "slang," respectively, discusses the influence of the dialects on military slang, and lists more than 4000 such words together with their more than 5000 different meanings. Though certain methodological criticisms might be raised, Langenfelt's book is a notable contribution to the subject. A thirteen-page bibliography adds to the value of the dictionary.

The language field is dominated by place-name and dialect studies, the latter being chiefly concentrated in the journal published by the Dialect Archives at Uppsala.¹⁰ Manne Eriksson's article "Dialektuppteckningens metoder med särskild hänsyn till

⁷ *Ordbok över svenska språket utgiven av Svenska Akademien*. Häfte 184-87, "*N—Nominell*," Lund, 1947, 640 columns.

⁸ Olof Östergren, *Nusvensk ordbok*. Häfte 88, "*storhet—strullik*," Uppsala, 1947, cols. 273-368.

⁹ *Officersjargong och manskapsslang i Sverige 1645-1945. Ordbok med inledning av Gösta Langenfelt*, Uppsala, 1947, pp. 1-313.

¹⁰ *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv*, Vol. 69, 1946.

sammanhängande texter" is an excellent essay on methodology.¹¹ Archivist Eriksson dwells on the history of, and the differences between, the "schematic" and the "impressionistic" methods as they apply to dialect notations. Intimate familiarity with the dialect one is investigating is a great advantage, though not without reservation: "Upptecknaren kan . . . aldrig vara enbart objektiv iakttagare utan är alltid aktiv medagerande genom sitt eget språkmedvetande." It is important, says the author, to realize to how great an extent all the early dialect notations were conscious or unconscious adaptations. Even Herman Geijer "normalized." We can compare these notations nowadays with those made with the help of mechanical devices, but even with our machines we must "gå den inre förståelsens väg för att fullt korrekt tolka dem," i.e., the recorded sounds. A complete escape from the subjective will never be possible. V. Ekenvall contributes "Kärnstavens benämningar på svenskt språkområde," a dialect study together with a map showing the numerous variations and the distribution of the word *törel:tyrel* 'kärnstaven i smörkärnan.' Following Hellquist he derives the word by way of OSwed. *þyrill* from Germanic **þwerila-* to **þweran* 'vrida, röra om.'¹² Not least important in the publication are the annual reports of progress in dialect research in the three centers of Uppsala, Lund, and Göteborg, written by D. Strömbäck, G. Hedström, and Hj. Lindroth, respectively.¹³

A further contribution in this field is D. O. Zetterholm's article in Vol. 26 of *Nysvenska studier*, "Det enhetliga ljudsystemet," which is actually a review of a dissertation by B. Björseth, *Dialekt och riksspråk i en bohusslänsk socken*.¹⁴ Björseth's work purports to present a new method and a new concept of language; working with dialect collections made chiefly by himself, he treats approximately 4000 words, some of them from the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-57.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 58-80.

¹³ "Landsmåls- och Folkminnesarkivets i Uppsala årsberättelse 1944-45," pp. 175-186; "Landsmålsarkivets i Lund årsberättelse 1944-45," pp. 187-193; "Årsberättelse från Institutet för ortnamns- och dialektforskning vid Göteborgs högskola 1944-45," pp. 194-196.

¹⁴ Pp. 188-202.

riksspråk. Zetterholm finds that although the writer of the dissertation professes to a belief in phonology and systematology as the clue to dialect study—a language being relatively a closed system—he nevertheless fails to employ these ideas in carrying out his treatment. As an effort to classify changes and establish the system of a dialect, the work exhibits contradictions, but the material is rich, and there are helpful viewpoints on many aspects of the problem. The same number of *Nysvenska studier* also contains a combination dialect and place-name study by Lennart Öhman, "Om prepositionsbruket vid ortnamn i Lövångers s:n, Västerbottens län."¹⁵ The article comprises an examination of current usage and an historical approach on the basis of available older materials, although it is admittedly incomplete in both respects. The predominantly agricultural character of Lövånger parish has helped to preserve the dialect from disintegration: old diphthongs, and, to a great extent, case endings are preserved. Parallels are drawn to Icelandic names of farms; in both the Icelandic and the Swedish, the *situation* determines the use of prepositions. In his contribution "Vår 'ver'," Bo Magnusson examines the Swedish word for the vernal season in all the provinces, to determine its predominant gender and to study changes in gender, concluding that "Ordet är ju fem. i de dialekter, som legat till grund härför." Dictionary-makers are strongly influenced by their own dialect.¹⁶ Another work requiring notice here is an Uppsala dissertation by Bror Lindén, *Dalska namn och ordstudier gällande särskilt Mora tingslag och Österdalsområdet*. I. Serieordnade smärre skrifter. Första serien (Uppsala, 1947, pp. xxiii+171). Maps accompany the work.

Ortnamnssällskapet i Uppsala årsskrift, 1947, contains a number of short contributions. Jöran Sahlgren, in "Namnet Uppsala," refers to the village name of Sala, with Uppsala being "det inre eller övre Sala," and relating *Sala* to Swed. *sal* and cognate words, but with the particular sense of *fäbod*. He concludes: "Namnen *Sala* och *Uppsala* skulle sålunda utgöra minnen av vår allra äldsta fäbodskultur."¹⁷ In "Tjuk och Tjuke" L.

¹⁵ Pp. 1-36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-54.

¹⁷ Pp. 5-11.

Moberg etymologizes a place name in Tjust, Kalmar län.¹⁸ G. Holm studies the relations between a village and a river in "Soc-kennamnet Bure" and considers it likely that the river name is the primary one. Pointing out that the river Buran falls 90 feet in 3 miles, he etymologizes the name as derived from **būra*, signifying "noisy."¹⁹ G. Ekström corrects the views of earlier scholars in his article "Var låg tingsplatsen i Åkerbo härad i Västmanland?"²⁰ H. Lindberg, in "Storsunget och Åsdamban. Några forsnamn i Älvdalen," argues that *Sugn*, like the Norwegian *Sogn*, is derived from *suga* and denotes a *sugning* above a waterfall. *Dämba* he believes derived from **damb* 'rök, ånga,' and hence it should mean the place where *damm* (= *ånga*) occurs.²¹ The word *-syssla*, unusual in Swedish place names, is examined by Ivar Modéer in "Järsyssla vid Skara." He sees in the first element of the compound the word *jarl*; the farm "Järsyssla" was in early times important for the administration of the province of Västergötland, being thus similar to "kungsgården" at Gamla Uppsala. The "jarl" in question was doubtless under the Uppsala king.²² In "Ett jämtländskt bergnamn" B. Flemström analyzes the name *Dragberget* in the province of Jämtland and connects it with a local *vattendrag* or watercourse, possibly Eldsjöbäcken; cf. OSwed. *dragha*.²³ Valter Jansson takes up the masculine name Ottar in "Namnet Ottar," and finds it obviously "från början tvåledat." Through a process of elimination he works down to *öht* < **öht*. The question is only that of the meaning. Grimm misinterpreted the name; the relationship of the name to Goth. *agis* 'fear' carries no implications as to timidity on the part of the bearer of the name, but rather implies that he is one who inspires fear in others.²⁴ "Önamnet Essingarna," by I. Ståhle, is a well-reasoned attempt to show that the name Es-

¹⁸ Pp. 3-18.

¹⁹ Pp. 19-27.

²⁰ Pp. 28-30.

²¹ Pp. 31-37.

²² Pp. 38-46.

²³ Pp. 47-52.

²⁴ Pp. 53-58.

singarna is not derived from *åsar* 'ridges' but rather from *Åsön*, the former name for the Stockholm district of Södermalm, just east of Essingarna.²⁵

The solid contributions that place-name investigations may make to historical research are admirably illustrated by Erland Hjärne in "Roden. Upphovet och namnet. Området och jarlen."²⁶ On historical and philological evidence he attacks the interpretation "rodden" or "roddens land" for the name *Röþ(r)in* 'Roden.' *Röþr*, n., gen. *Röþrs*, means "(rodd)skepp"; *Rodslagen* 'Roslagen' means "skeppslagen," and it signifies nothing more. *Roden* was a term not for the east coast of Sweden in general, but merely for the coastal tracts from Stockholm northward as far as the northern boundary of Gästrikland. While it has been claimed by historians that *Roden* was "en svensk riks-institution . . . under götisk ledning," this contention now appears as one of a series of historical fantasies supported by wishful etymologies. Simultaneously, Hjärne has attacked the problem from another point of view in a parallel work, "Rod och runor."²⁷ To begin with, he would eliminate the term "historiska runstenar," for all rune stones are historical, even though some tell us more history than others. Starting with the Hovgård rune stone in the province of Uppland, on which the word (or words) *i r o þ* appears, Professor Hjärne winds up with the famous inscription on the lion of Piræus, which contains the words often read as *roþrs lanti*. He cannot see how a land can be called **Röðr* 'rodd,' and consequently how "roddens land" could designate a territory. There are no Scandinavian nor any other Germanic parallels for a *nomen actionis* as the first element of the name of a "land." Decrying an uncritical acceptance of older views, the author finds the inscription on the lion of Piræus quite negative as evidence: "Ingen form av områdesnamnet Roden har hittills kunnat påvisas i någon runinskrift." In view of this, Sven

²⁵ Pp. 59-61.

²⁶ *Namn och Bygd. Tidskrift för nordisk ortnamnsforskning*. Årg. 35. 1947. Häfte 1-2, pp. 1-96.

²⁷ *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Uppsala årsbok 1946*, Uppsala, 1947, pp. 21-126.

Tunberg's *Rod och Roslag i det gamla sveariket* has a peculiar interest.²⁸ Professor Tunberg represents a much more traditional point of view, and one notes in particular the following unfortunate statement: "Vi kunna tryggt låta vår historiska fantasi vandra vidare."

"Arkeologisk datering av vendeltidens nordiska runinskrifter," by Birger Nerman, treats especially of the period A.D. 550-800 in the history of runology. Inasmuch as we have rune stones from the period 200-550 and from the time after 800, but very little in between, this Vendel period has in general been considered by archaeologists as lacking in archaeologically datable runic inscriptions, most unfortunately for the study of the language. But beginning with the discovery in 1917 of the Norwegian Eggjum stone, a series of finds, eleven in all, have been made, which bridge the gap. Through comparisons with the rich archaeological material from the island of Gotland, Nerman establishes a chronology for the Vendel period on the mainland, which he divides into five periods of 50 years each. His conclusion is that M. Olson and I. Lindquist were right in dating the transition from Primitive Scandinavian to the later Scandinavian languages around 550 instead of 800.²⁹ A brief contribution by Sune Lindqvist, "Onaturliga runstenstransporter," argues, contrary to von Friesen, Wessén, and S. B. F. Jansson, that it is unreasonable to assume that rune stones were moved long distances from their original locations to the vicinity of churches.³⁰ Two further archaeological contributions are N.-G. Gejvall, "Bestämning av brända ben från forntida gravar,"³¹ and Dagmar Selling, "Kring ett vikingatida guldspänne från Uppland."³² The former is an osteological treatment of material from a burial place in Horn Parish, Västergötland. Based on an investigation of 196 out of 210 ancient graves, this

²⁸ *Det levande förflutna. Svenska historiska föreningens folkskrifter* 11, Uppsala, 1947, pp. 1-54.

²⁹ *Fornvännen. Meddelanden från K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien och Svenska fornminnesföreningen utgiven genom Martin Olsson*, Stockholm, 1947, pp. 109-141.

³⁰ *Fornvännen*, pp. 50-51.

³¹ Pp. 39-47.

³² Pp. 74-84.

study develops criteria for determining the age (at time of death) of cremated bodies on the basis of the teeth, those of youth being more resistant to heat than those of elderly persons. Gejvall contemplates further research in this direction. The second of the two articles discusses the first golden brooch from the Viking Age to be found in Uppland. In its ornamentation it closely resembles the only other one from that period so far brought to light in Sweden, namely in Skåne. A contribution to both language study and numismatics is found in N. L. Rasmusson's "‘Inte en vitten’."³³ Rasmusson shows that the name of the coin "vitten," Lat. *albus*, did not follow the coin itself but rather the abstract method of counting money. Parallels are adduced.

Two important publications by Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien must be noted here. Mårten Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit. II. Fundbeschreibung und Tafeln*, is a systematic inventory with a total of 687 items discussed. The work is provided with 96 drawings and 307 photographs.³⁴ *Antikvariska studier. II. Norrtäljetrakten under forntiden, en översikt utarbetad av Riksantikvarieämbetet*, contains several studies, with a foreword by S. Curman.³⁵ Erik Floderus has contributed the sections "Norrtäljetraktens historia" and "Översikt över fornlämningsstyperna," while S. B. F. Jansson is author of the chapter on "Runinskrifter i Norrtäljetrakten." There is a series of detailed studies from each of the twelve parishes represented, together with an index of place names. Not including what has disappeared, 6378 different items are listed, of which only 42 are rune stones; the number of megalithic monuments is 3947, the number of mounds 1762. The remains represent the Older Iron Age, especially the Roman, and the Younger Iron Age, especially the Vendel and Viking Periods. There is a brief analysis and approximate dating of place names. Numerous maps, drawings, and photographs are provided.

Several writings are noted under the general heading of

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-73.

³⁴ Lund, 1947, pp. 7-271.

³⁵ *K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*. Del 62, Stockholm, 1946, pp. 1-164.

folklore. Among these is J. Nordlander, *Ångermanländska folkminnen från 1800-talets förra hälft*.³⁶ In his article "Forskarna bland folket," Mats Rehnberg gives the history of the *frågelistor* and other methods of inquiry developed for the purpose of enlisting the aid of lay folklorists.³⁷ The contributions to folklore furnished by physicians' reports are discussed by G. von Schoultz in "Folklivsskildringar i gamla läkarrapporter."³⁸ Statements made by Olaus Magnus concerning the ale stoops used in medieval Sweden are corroborated by A. Hirsjärvi in "Hur de nordiska ölkåsorna kommit till."³⁹ Seven illustrations accompany the article. In a contribution which he modestly labels "ett kulturhistoriskt utkast," Nils Ahnlund treats of a very old phase of taxation in Scandinavia.⁴⁰ The journal *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv* contains several folkloristic articles of interest. H. Celander takes up a disputed question in "Barfotagång och kretsgång—än en gång."⁴¹ Bringing to the topic observations from Slavic territory, he interprets the Swedish custom referred to in the title of his article as a parallel to the Icelandic practice of *fagna þorra*, *fagna Góa* (analogous to *fagna veltri*, *sumri*), intended to bring good fortune to the farm at the vernal equinox. J. Ejdestam, in "Omfärd vid besittningstagande av jordegendom," seeks a connection between the early practice of touring the boundaries of newly acquired land and the early laws concerning landed possessions. There are numerous widespread legends, both in and outside of Sweden, concerning the practice mentioned, e.g., the Dido legend. But by no means is all of this to be considered myth.⁴² A stimulating piece of folkloristic detective work is furnished by A. Sandklef in his article "'Frillesåsmärket'. Undersökning av en tradition

³⁶ *Norrländska samlingar*. Häftet 18 (V: 1), Stockholm, 1947, pp. 1-154.

³⁷ *Fataburen. Nordiska museets och Skansens årsbok*, Stockholm, 1947, pp. 155-184.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-76.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-68.

⁴⁰ "Nordiska skinnskatter," in *Saga och sed. Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademiens årsbok* 1946, Uppsala, 1947, pp. 32-55.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 19-31.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 86-114.

och dess källa."⁴³ The author shows that, in spite of apparently reliable authority, there is in reality no basis whatever for a certainly widely believed tradition. M. P:n Nilsson has contributed a brief dialect story from Skåne, together with a commentary, in "Hanåvra Måns."⁴⁴

In the field of language studies, Ivar Modéer's *Studier över slutartikeln i starka feminina* attempts to show that Swedish philological science has suffered from the lack of imagination on the part of its practitioners. Docent Modéer's hypotheses are challenging and his learning well attested, even if one is unwilling to accept his methodology as superior to the one he finds outmoded. Twenty-one helpful charts accompany the work.⁴⁵ *Nysvenska studier* for 1946-1947 contains several articles in addition to the articles noted above. Influence from Poe on a Swedish writer is shown by Ivar Lundahl in "Antika versmått och rytmer hos Viktor Rydberg."⁴⁶ He lists eight poems by Rydberg which he considers to have wholly classical rhythms. The same writer turns to a different task in "Förslag till tolkning av några dunkla ställen i Karlfeldts dikter."⁴⁷ Speaking of an "avsiktlig maske-ring," noticeable in as early a work as *Fridolins visor* and increasingly marked in *Flora och Pomona* and *Flora och Bellona* (whereas Karlfeldt's last collection, *Hösthorn*, shows much less of this tendency), Lundahl feels that such labyrinths can be explored only in terms of a general study of Karlfeldt's poetic language. He offers satisfactory interpretations of the passages selected for comment. In the form of an article, N. Beckman reviews *Svenskt skriftspråk*, by E. Källquist and Y. Kämpe.⁴⁸ While criticizing a certain slavish adherence to the grammatical categories of Latin, he finds excellent details in the book, which is intended for use in a correspondence school for agricultural youths. Beckman takes occasion to express his approval of the teaching of Swedish for its own sake and not as an introduction to the learning of Ger-

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-137.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-85.

⁴⁵ *Uppsala universitets årsskrift*, 1946: 2, pp. 1-157.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 55-63.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-118.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-74.

man or of general grammar. Based on collections made in the course of several years by Erik Vendelfelt, the essay "Ordsammansättningar av typen 'sötsur'" divides such compounds into five categories: (1) physiological compounds such as *sötsur* itself; (2) emotional; (3) special judgments, such as *sorglustig*; (4) sexual: *gosseflicka* (but such a word as *maninna* has no sexual implication); (5) technical terms such as *psykofysisk*, *ljusdunkel*. The third category seems to be the most numerous.⁴⁹

Modersmålsläraernas förenings årsskrift for 1947 contains a valuable study by Gösta Bergman, "Anmärkningar om svenskt uttal. Svaren på en rundfråga till svenska skolor, sammanställda av. . . ."⁵⁰ The author finds that the pronunciation attested from the more thickly populated sections of the country, from Malmö to Gävle, is distinctly careless, while that of Norrland proper—from Härnösand to Malmberget—is less objectionable. Girls are on the whole freer from bad dialect than boys, and they articulate better. Bergman concludes that only the worst dialect features ought to be singled out for an attempted elimination. These include "*tjockt l*," if too noticeable, and diphthongization of short vowels. Tongue-point *r* is to be preferred. Suggestions are made as to method, and a list of the schools figuring in the inquiry is appended. Two shorter articles are Hilma Henningsson's "Svenskt riksspråksuttal i Sverige och Finland. En kritisk jämförelse"⁵¹ and J. Mjöberg's "Lossnar prepositionsattributet?"⁵²

A contribution to Eddic textual research is the methodological survey by E. Wissén in "Den isländska eddadiktningen. Dess uppteckning och redigering."⁵³ In conclusion, we note the posthumous publication of the first volume of E. A. Kock's *Den norsk-isländska skaldediktningen*.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-110.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 17-84.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-92.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 93-99.

⁵³ *Saga och sed*, 1947, pp. 1-31.

⁵⁴ Lund, 1946, pp. 1-344. The second volume is expected to appear during 1948. A review of these older poetic texts in Kock's version will appear in a later number of *SS*.

OBSERVATIONS ON SWEDISH GRAMMAR: V

AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST

The University of Nebraska

*The Article "The Use of Resumptive 'Så' after
Non-Adverbial Expressions in Swedish"*¹

Additional examples, supplementing the five presented in the original article (not taking into account those from the dialect volume), are now available in my collections. *Men då enda som hjälper emot ryggmatisten så ä dä kärleken...*² "Vad Betty mer har," hörde hon Marelus inskjuta, "så är det en rik inbillning och ett särdeles medlidsamt hjärta."³ Jag tror att vad du än väljer så blir det bra.⁴ Och nu är det lag, se, att den som först upptäcker en båt som står på grund och ger opplysning åt dykeribolaget, så ska han ha en viss procent utå bärgarlön.⁵ "Jaha, Albert," sade de, "den som har tur, så har han, då jädringen förgestat ett sant ord."⁶ Note the use of så in the passage: *Vi var alla förbjudna att tala om det, och vi bröt inte förbudet. Vi var barn från tre till tolv år. Från sjuåringen till tolvåringen så hade vi lovat att tiga, och vi teg. De mindre förstod ingenting, de behövde inte ge löften. Vi var fem stycken, som avgivit tysthetslöfte.*⁷ The following sentence illustrates anacoluthon: *Men, vad pastorn anført om hennes "vitnesmål" i saken, alla historier om hur hon sett barnen gå till krogen, hur föräldrarna brukade smussa med slantar o. s. v., o. s. v., så tycks det mig, att vi i en så allvarlig debatt som denna skulle undvika allt, som kan få sken av skvaller.*⁸

¹ *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 18 (1945), pp. 284-288.

² *Skrifter av Albert Engström*, Vol. 2: *Adel, präster, smugglare, bönder* (Stockholm, 1943), p. 147.

³ Alice Lyttkens, *Längtans blåa blomma*⁶ (Stockholm, 1944), p. 102.

⁴ Eyvind Johnson, *Krilon själv* (Stockholm, 1943), p. 203. This sentence can also be interpreted differently.

⁵ *Skrifter av Albert Engström*, Vol. 2, p. 10.

⁶ *Skrifter av Albert Engström*, Vol. 18: *Med penna och tallpipa* (Stockholm, 1943), p. 206.

⁷ Moa Martinson, *Bakom svenskvallen* (Stockholm, 1944), p. 14.

⁸ Mathilda Roos, *Vit ljung* (Stockholm, 1911), p. 215.

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met on the campus of the University of North Dakota, in Room 211 of Merrifield Hall, Grand Forks, North Dakota, on Friday, April 30, and Saturday, May 1, 1948.

FIRST SESSION, FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 2 P.M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Professor E. Gustav Johnson.

President John C. West of the University of North Dakota in his address of welcome stated that the best way to preserve Scandinavian culture is to preserve the Scandinavian languages. He expressed the hope that Scandinavian ideals might spread widely. Professor Johnson expressed the gratitude of the Society for the cordial welcome.

The reading of papers was then begun:

1. Kaj Munk as a Dramatist (20 minutes). By Professor Sverre Arestad, University of Washington. The paper was discussed by Professors E. J. Vickner, Walter Johnson, and E. Gustav Johnson.

2. Tegnér's Literary Activity during the Years 1840-1846 (20 minutes). By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. Discussion by Professors Richard Beck, E. Gustav Johnson, and E. J. Vickner.

3. Grímur Thomsen, National Poet and Cosmopolitan (20 minutes). By Professor Richard Beck, University of North Dakota. Discussion by Professors A. M. Sturtevant, Walter Johnson, and Sverre Arestad.

4. A Study in Fröding (20 minutes). By Professor E. J. Vickner, University of Washington. This paper was discussed by Professors A. M. Sturtevant, Sverre Arestad, Richard Beck, and F. Y. St. Clair.

At the special business session, following the reading of the above papers, the Committee on the Constitution, consisting of Professors Richard Beck, J. Jörgen Thompson, and Joseph Alexis, presented its report in the form of a proposed new constitution. The chairman of the committee, Professor Richard Beck, informed the Society that in accordance with the provisions of the

old constitution the new proposition had been presented to the members of the Executive Council. The Executive Council had already approved the proposed constitution unanimously. The Society now took it up article by article, adopting each one unanimously. Hereupon a motion was made and carried unanimously to adopt the constitution as a whole.

The following committees were appointed: for Resolutions, Professor Walter Johnson and Mr. Martin Soderback; for Auditing, Professors Arthur Wald and A. M. Rovelstad.

There were twenty-six present at this session.

At seven o'clock the annual dinner of the Society was held at the Ryan Hotel. Professor J. Jörgen Thompson pronounced the invocation. After the dinner President E. Gustav Johnson called upon the following for short talks: Professors J. Jörgen Thompson, A. M. Sturtevant, E. J. Vickner, Joseph Alexis, and Richard Beck. Vocal solos were rendered by Miss Elizabeth Meidt, accompanied by Miss Teresa Adams at the piano. President Johnson read letters from Professors George T. Flom, Chester N. Gould, Lee M. Hollander, and Adolph B. Benson, in which they expressed their appreciation of the work done by Joseph Alexis as secretary-treasurer since May, 1915. Professor Alexis had informed the Executive Council of his decision to retire after thirty-three years of service in this office, greatly appreciative of the co-operation of his fellow members during all this time. Miss Eleanor Johnson played a piano solo and accompanied the unison singing when all joined in *Ja, vi elsker dette landet, Det er et yndigt Land*, and *Du gamla, du fria*.

The dinner was attended by sixty persons.

SECOND SESSION, SATURDAY, MAY 1, 9:30 A.M.

The meeting was called to order by President E. Gustav Johnson.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was read together with the report of the Auditing Committee. This report was accepted by a rising vote of thanks.

The report of the Managing Editor was accepted.

It was moved and carried to recommend for action at the next annual meeting the addition of the following words in Article 11 of the new constitution, "or in legally approved trust

funds," after the words "first mortgages on productive farm land."

The Committee on Resolutions proposed the following:

1. The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study expresses its appreciation to the University of North Dakota; to President John C. West; to the American Airlines; to Professors Richard Beck, A. V. Overn, and A. M. Rovelstad, members of the local committee on arrangements; to Mrs. Richard Beck and the Misses Elizabeth Meidt, Teresa Adams, and Eleanor Johnson; and to all other people of Grand Forks who have helped to make this our thirty-eighth annual meeting highly successful and pleasant.

2. The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study expresses its deep appreciation to Professor Joseph Alexis, its retiring secretary-treasurer, for his faithful service in that position for the past thirty-three years, for his enthusiasm in promoting the aims of the society, and for his inspiring loyalty and leadership. His services will be an ideal which a successor will find it difficult to equal.

These resolutions were adopted.

A symposium on methods of teaching Scandinavian followed.

1. Some Aspects of Intensive Language Technique. By Professor Einar R. Ryden, Purdue University. This paper was read by Professor Walter Johnson.

2. Vocabulary and Notes for Use in Courses in Scandinavian. By Professors E. J. Vickner and Sverre Arestad, University of Washington.

3. The Content Method, a Factual Approach. By Professor Allan Lake Rice, University of Pennsylvania. Read by Professor Arthur Wald.

4. The First Hour in the Teaching of Swedish. By Professor Joseph Alexis, University of Nebraska.

These papers were discussed by Professors Arthur Wald, Richard Beck, Joseph Alexis, and E. J. Vickner.

There were eighteen present at this session.

The thirty-eighth annual meeting of the Society adjourned.

The members of the Society were guests of the University of North Dakota at a luncheon following the adjournment.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*

TREASURER'S REPORT

FROM MAY 1, 1947 TO APRIL 30, 1948

Income

On hand May 1, 1947.....	\$ 743.66	
Membership dues.....	1,869.40	
Interest on Endowment Fund.....	282.50	
Sale of Scandinavian Studies.....	23.77	
Contribution to Endowment Fund...	1.00	
Advertising in the Studies.....	69.00	
From Estate of Elizabeth Marshall...	88.34	\$3,077.67

Disbursements

Banta Publishing Company		
May number, 1947.....	\$352.83	
August number, 1947....	370.72	
November number, 1947..	349.32	
February number, 1948..	443.31	\$1,516.18
Exchange on checks.....	16.91	
Stamps and stamped envelopes.....	195.30	
Boyd Printing Company, Lincoln		
2,800 circular letters and		
2,000 letterheads.....	27.50	
1,200 programs.....	17.50	45.00
Clerical help.....	85.00	
Gösta Franzen, postage.....	5.00	
Hedin Bronner, map.....	6.50	
A. L. Elmquist, postage.....	30.00	
A. M. Sturtevant, postage.....	20.00	
Walter Johnson, postage.....	15.00	
To Endowment Fund.....	550.00	2,484.89
On hand April 30, 1948.....		\$ 592.78
Endowment Fund.....		7,000.00
Savings Department, First National Bank,		
Lincoln.....		34.20
TOTAL ASSETS.....		\$7,626.98

CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

ADOPTED APRIL 30, 1948

ARTICLE 1

The name of this society shall be the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study.

ARTICLE 2

This Society shall have for its object: 1) the promotion of Scandinavian study and instruction in America; 2) the encouragement of original research in this country in the fields of Scandinavian languages and literatures and related fields, and the providing of a medium for the publication of the results of such research; and 3) the fostering of closer relations between persons interested in Scandinavian studies in America and elsewhere.

ARTICLE 3

The officers of the Society shall be a president, a vice-president, a secretary-treasurer, a managing editor of publications (hereinafter called managing editor), and an associate managing editor. There shall also be an advisory committee of eight members. These thirteen shall constitute the Executive Council of the Society. The President of the Society shall also function as Head of the Executive Council. The President and the Secretary-Treasurer shall consult together, and thereupon the President shall formulate all communications addressed to the Executive Council by the Secretary-Treasurer. It shall be the function of the Executive Council to make all decisions for the Society except those which in the following articles are designated as being incumbent on individual officers or on groups of officers or on the total membership. Propositions of measures to be voted on by the Executive Council shall be submitted to it by the Secretary-Treasurer but, except in the case of measures recommended by an annual meeting, only with the unanimous approval of the President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Managing Editor. A two-thirds majority shall be required in all

decisions made by the Executive Council except where in the following articles a majority vote or a unanimous vote is specifically indicated.

ARTICLE 4

The officers shall be elected annually as follows: A) The President and the Vice-President shall be elected by the majority of votes from the total membership of the Society which reach the Secretary-Treasurer within sixty days of the mailing of the ballots (which shall accompany the annual bills for dues in January of each year), two names for each post having been recommended by a majority vote of the Executive Council. Those thus elected shall take office as of the close of the annual meeting of the year in which they are elected. The President and the Vice-President shall not be nominated to succeed themselves in their respective offices. The Vice-President may be nominated for the presidency, but not the President for the vice-presidency. B) The Secretary-Treasurer and the Managing Editor shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of the Executive Council during the thirty days preceding the annual meeting. Those thus elected shall take office as of the close of the annual meeting of the year in which they are elected. With reference to A) and B), there shall be a nominating committee, consisting of the President, the Vice-President, and the two members of the Advisory Committee listed for one-year service. This committee shall make recommendations to the Executive Council. C) The Executive Council shall immediately after the annual meeting elect an Associate Managing Editor, who must be a person approved by the Managing Editor. The Associate Managing Editor shall take office immediately upon election.

ARTICLE 5

The members of the Advisory Committee shall hold office for four years, but they shall be so elected and listed that the first two will hold office for one year, the next two for two years, the following two for three years, and the last two for four years, two new members with a four-year term being elected each year to replace the outgoing ones. The members of the Advisory Committee shall be elected by vote of the total membership of

the Society at the same time and in the same manner as stated in Article 4, A, two names having been suggested for each of the posts to be filled. Members of the Advisory Committee shall not be nominated to succeed themselves. Those elected shall take office as of the close of the annual meeting of the year in which they are elected. The Nominating Committee designated in Article 4 shall make recommendations to the Executive Council.

ARTICLE 6

Vacancies in the membership of the Executive Council which may occur between the regular election times shall be filled by two-thirds majority vote of the Executive Council; the same condition shall here attach to the election of the Associate Managing Editor as is stated in Article 4, C.

ARTICLE 7

Except in the event of a gift or a bequest specifically providing for some additional publication, the Society shall limit its publication activities to a quarterly journal known as *Scandinavian Studies*, which shall be published in the months of February, May, August, and November of each year.

ARTICLE 8

The Managing Editor and the Associate Managing Editor shall jointly be responsible for the complete handling of *Scandinavian Studies*, shall together plan the organization of the remainder of the editorial staff as to rank and duties, and shall together appoint any and all other staff members, none of whom may, after such appointment, at the same time fill a post which gives him membership in the Executive Council. The term of office of the members of the editorial staff appointed as described in this Article shall begin immediately upon appointment and shall terminate with the passing of the deadline for the submission of materials for the August number of the following year. Any vacancies occurring between the regular appointment times may be filled by the Managing Editor and the Associate Managing Editor.

ARTICLE 9

Any person may become a member of the Society upon nomination by a member and approval by the President and the Secretary-Treasurer and upon payment of the dues. The membership shall be made up of a) Associate Members, with annual dues of two dollars; b) Sustaining Members, with annual dues of ten dollars; c) Patron Members, with annual dues of twenty-five dollars. Life membership shall be made up of a) Associate Life Members, with a once-for-all payment of fifty dollars; b) Sustaining Life Members, with a once-for-all payment of two hundred and fifty dollars; c) Patron Life Members, with a once-for-all payment of five hundred dollars or more. All members shall receive all publications of the Society. Regardless of class, each member shall have one vote. The membership, in the case of annual members, runs from January 1 to December 31 inclusive.

ARTICLE 10

The annual meetings shall be held the first Friday and Saturday in May or on two other consecutive Friday and Saturday dates in April and (or) May and at such place as the Executive Council shall designate by majority vote. In order to make a meeting legal, there must be present at both sessions at least two officers and seven other members of the Society. The meetings shall be held primarily for the purpose of reading and discussing learned papers presented by the members, the discussion of methods and materials for the teaching of Scandinavian, and, in general, for the discussion of means for the furthering of the aims and purposes of the Society. The program shall be prepared by the Managing Editor in co-operation with the Secretary-Treasurer and shall be mailed by the latter to all members at least thirty days before each meeting. The meetings shall not be empowered to make any binding decisions, except as indicated in Articles 14 and 15, but they may by two-thirds majority vote recommend to the Executive Council the adoption of measures.

ARTICLE 11

The Endowment Fund of the Society shall be invested only

in first mortgages on productive farm land; such placement of mortgages shall have the approval of the President, the Vice-President, and the Secretary-Treasurer. These mortgages shall be made out in the name of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society as "Trustee for the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study." The Endowment Fund shall remain intact or be increased; only the interest received may be spent (as income, in accordance with the provisions of Article 12). All gifts and bequests which were not given for specifically designated purposes shall be added to the Endowment Fund.

ARTICLE 12

No officers shall receive salaries; but the Secretary-Treasurer, and he alone, shall be allowed to spend money for clerical help; this shall be in an amount not to exceed \$200 a year. The Society shall pay no travelling expenses to members or to non-members for any purpose and shall not subsidize any individual or any other organization or any publication except its own *Scandinavian Studies*. The only other permissible expenditures, beyond the cost of publication of *Scandinavian Studies*, shall be for bonding, bank charges for clearing of checks, postage, stationery, any necessary ledgers, for the printing of programs, membership application cards, and circular letters, and for the mimeographing of bills and letters, on the part of the Secretary-Treasurer; and for postage and stationery, on the part of the members of the editorial staff, this to be subject to the Managing Editor's approval and recommendation to the Secretary-Treasurer. Any other expenditures which may be proposed must be approved by a two-thirds majority vote of the Executive Council, which must include the votes of the Secretary-Treasurer and the Managing Editor. All income of the Society not expended for the purposes hereinbefore stated, except as limited by the provisions of Article 11, shall be used for the publication of *Scandinavian Studies*. Invoices for issues of *Scandinavian Studies* shall be approved by the Managing Editor before payment by the Secretary-Treasurer. The average size of the issues of *Scandinavian Studies* shall be determined on the basis of costs and available and expected income by agreement of the Secretary-Treasurer and the Managing Editor. Unexpended remainders

for any year shall be available for use in the following year or years unless, upon unanimous agreement of the Managing Editor, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the President, they are embodied in the Endowment Fund. Current income of no kind shall be used for partial defrayment of the cost of any other such publication as is referred to in Article 7.

ARTICLE 13

The Secretary-Treasurer shall be bonded to an amount determined by unanimous agreement of the President, the Vice-President, and the Managing Editor and approved by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE 14

The Secretary-Treasurer shall make a complete report of the financial situation of the Society at each annual meeting, which marks the end of the fiscal year. His accounts, the expenditures in which shall be evidenced by paid invoices, shall be audited by a committee of two, one of whom must be a member of the Executive Council; this committee shall be appointed by the President and shall report its findings to the Society in session. The financial report shall be published together with the minutes of the meeting in the next following August number of *Scandinavian Studies*. The Managing Editor shall report on the accomplishments and plans of the editorial staff. The President shall report on the state of the Society and on the activities of the Executive Council; measures adopted by the Executive Council shall be briefly summarized by the President and published after the financial statement in the August issue.

ARTICLE 15

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds majority vote of the members of the Executive Council, which must include the President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Managing Editor; but if the amendment concerns the expenditure or the management of money, there must be a unanimous vote of the Executive Council. Such proposed amendments, to become effective, must thereupon be adopted by a two-thirds majority vote of two consecutive annual meetings of the Society. Amend-

ments shall be submitted to the Executive Council through the Secretary-Treasurer, but only upon recommendation based on a two-thirds majority vote of an annual meeting or on the unanimous vote of all the officers of the Society.

ARTICLE 16

This Constitution shall become effective as of the day and hour of its adoption by a two-thirds majority vote of the membership present at the annual meeting at which it is presented, this latter in accordance with the constitution adopted May 27, 1911, which this new constitution replaces.

REVIEWS

Tunberg, Sven. *Rod och roslag i det gamla sveariket (Det levande förflutna. Svenska Historiska Föreningens folkskrifter 11.)*. Hugo Gebers förlag, Stockholm and Uppsala, 1947. Pp. 1-54.

The learned historian and rector of the University of Stockholm, Professor Sven Tunberg, has gathered together in a little book his views on the origin and development of the names "Roden" and "Roslagen" and their connection with the mediæval Swedish military (or naval) institution of the *ledning*. The material is divided into three chapters—"Rodens begrepp, ursprung och tidigaste utveckling"; "Rod och ledung i aktion"; and "Ledungens senare utveckling och dess upphörande såsom krigsorganisation." There are also included a page of introduction, a number of useful and attractive maps and photographs, and a brief list of suggested readings.

This work is intended to fill a gap left by the lack of general surveys of the field. The key to Professor Tunberg's treatment is to be found in the opening sentence: "'Roden'—vilken mångfald av minnen och föreställningar från Sveriges äldsta tider väcker ej detta för endast ett fåtal svenskar numera aktuella, men dock så urgamla namn!" In keeping with this beginning, the author continues in the well-trodden path of interpretations which in the name and concept "Roslagen" find both a convenient explanation and a grandiose symbol of the political and military development of Ancient Sweden. According to Tunberg's view, Roden was originally the general name for Sweden's war fleet ("Roden har blivit det tekniska och målande uttrycket för krigsmakten i verksamhet"), and the concept antedates what we call the Viking Age. In the course of time the name came to be transferred to the coastal areas which served as springboards for Swedish naval expeditions eastward. These areas are not confined, according to the author, to the coastal region in Uppland, nowadays called "Roslagen" ("Upplands östra och sydöstra kusttrakter"), but apparently include Norrland, Östergötland, Småland, Öland, Gotland, and the southwestern tip of Finland. This assumption rests, in the reviewer's opinion,

on slight evidence or on none at all; but Professor Tunberg's avowed principle is to "tryggt låta vår historiska fantasi vandra vidare" (p. 12). He will not accept the limitation of the name Roden to a comparatively restricted coastal area north of Stockholm: "Förklaringen härtill kan nämligen vara, att institutionsnamnet Roden bevarats endast för de landområden, vilka s. a. s. i jungfruligt skick och utan att äga äldre beteckningar inordnats i Rodsorganisationen, under det att övriga delar av Roden, vilka en gång tillhört andra samhälleliga förband med hävdvunna benämningar, återgått till dessa" (p. 29). This is a farfetched explanation; but taking for proven what he might reasonably be expected to prove, the author connects a vastly expanded "Roslagen" with the political organization of the Swedish nation in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the *svear*, or Swedes proper, had conquered the more southerly *götar*. This territorial "Roden" Tunberg finds to be "ett 'jarladöme'" (p. 29). Happily, he resists the temptation to date this "jarladöme" more closely, recollecting in time that "allt faktiskt underlag är svävande och osäkert" (p. 30). The simple fact is that the sources tell us of no "jarladöme" in connection with Roden; and Erland Hjärne has recently shown that all talk of a "northern" and a "southern" Roden, i.e., territories north and south, respectively, of Stockholm, boils down to administrative designations within the Uppland region known to-day as Roslagen. Furthermore, Hjärne convincingly etymologizes "Rod" from **rōðr* 'skepp' and shows that *Roslagen* means nothing more than *skeppslagen* in general.¹

Tracing the so-called viking expeditions in large part to threatened military penetration from "det kristna karolingiska riket under sina kraftfulla ledare" in the eighth century, Professor Tunberg takes occasion to comment as follows on the fear inspired by the vikings: "Ej utan skäl stod den frankiske kejsaren år 839 misstänksam inför 'rhos' sändebud, trots att de infunno sig under den grekiske kejsarens beskydd" (p. 44).

¹ Hjärne's views appear at length in two recent publications: *Roden. Upphovet och namnet. Området och jarlen* (Namn och Bygd. Tidskrift för nordisk ortnamnsforskning. Årgång 35. 1947. Häfte 1-2, pp. 1-96); *Rod och runor* (Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Uppsala årsbok 1946, Uppsala, 1947, pp. 21-126).

Quite aside from the tendency to simplify the problem of the vikings, one asks: In view of the fact that at this time Arabs and Hungarians were harrying at the borders, Charlemagne outrooting the Saxons, and the Franks themselves engaged in savage civil wars, what evidence is there that the men from Scandinavia were unduly violent and treacherous? On the latter score, at least, there is little reason to consider them morally inferior to the Christians with whom they often came in hostile contact. To continue with Tunberg, we are forced once again to ask for evidence in the face of a statement like the following: "Den kristna religionen gjorde sina landvinningar och förkunnade frid i världen. Kriget såsom det rena näringsfånget måste upphöra" (p. 47). Proof of this curious claim would be welcome indeed. The reviewer finds no reason whatever to assume that Christianity was more effective then than it has since been in allaying the military zeal of warring nations. By contrast with the quotations cited above, one remarks the welcome caution with which Tunberg treats of the famous runic inscription on the lion of Piræus (p. 37).

The author reiterates his previously enunciated view that the first *vikings* proceeded from Viken in Norway; and although he does not specifically say so here, his statement appears to support an etymology of the word *vikings* on the basis of this geographical connection (p. 45). If this is meant, one may point out that the name Viken is of later origin than the word for pirate which we know from the seventh century—in Anglo-Saxon chronicles—at a time when the Norwegian area now known as Viken was called something quite different. In Scandinavian sources, furthermore, the men from Viken were called *vkverjar* or *vkverir*.²

The mighty Roden envisioned by Tunberg and others is in startling contrast to the decidedly unorganized and primitive character of the early Sweden we know from scanty sources. The reviewer is not convinced that the words of the ancient Law of Uppland, "Nu bjuder konungen ut lid och ledung, bjuder ut rod och red," are with such certainty to be considered

² F. Askeberg, *Norden och kontinenten i gammal tid*, Uppsala, 1944 (cf. pp. 114-183, esp. pp. 178-183), treats extensively of this topic and offers a convincing etymology of the word *vikings*.

"något mycket gammalt och fornt" or that the words necessarily refer to "Sveriges äldsta sjökrigsväsende med anor så långt tillbaka som Sveriges historia går" (p. 4). Tacitus cannot be relied upon as an authority in such matters; and our historical knowledge does not warrant the intimation that during the eighth century "den svenska Roden, den svenska krigsflottan . . . nu visade sig för världen i sin fullt organiserade styrka" (p. 34). The *ledung* organized according to the provisions of the old Law of Uppland (adopted 1296) is to be seen as the background of Torgils Knutsson's crusade to Carelia in Finland. What *Upplandslagen* can tell us about conditions five hundred—or one thousand!—years earlier may be very little indeed.

ERIK WAHLGREN

University of California, Los Angeles
and

University of Uppsala

Jóhannesson, Alexander. *Menningarsamband Frakka og Íslendinga* (*Studia Islandica* [*Íslenzk fræði*], Vol. IX), Reykjavík, 1943. Pp. 144.

This monograph, which is Volume IX in the series *Studia Islandica* (*Íslenzk fræði*), edited for the University of Iceland by Professor Sigurður Nordal, reveals that Dr. Alexander Jóhannesson's scholarly interests are not limited to philology, although he has made most of his contributions in that field. As the title indicates, he is concerned in this study with the cultural relations between the French and the Icelandic on a broad basis, the language aspect included. The general theme is summarized in a concise preface.

Chapter I, "Íslendingar í Frakklandi," tells about those Icelanders who have visited France and sojourned there for longer or shorter periods since the settlement of Iceland to the present, the most famous personage of the earliest in the group being Sæmund Sigfússon (the Learned), who studied in Paris. The next chapter, "Frakkar á Íslandi," reverses the picture and deals with Frenchmen who have made visits to Iceland and resided there.

Chapter III, "Ísland í frönskum bókmenntum," shows that French scholars have devoted considerable attention to Ice-

landic literature, especially the classical, both through translations and interpretative works and articles. Nor has the Modern Icelandic literature by any means been neglected. Many travel books about Iceland have been written in French; these differ, of course, greatly in value and interest.

Chapter IV, "Frakkland í íslenskum bókmenntum," traces French influence in Icelandic literature, which is particularly prominent in the romances (*riddarasögur*) and in the many *rímur* cycles on themes from them as well as in the *lygisögur*. Nor is it less significant that leading Icelandic poets have not only cherished French literature but have also written excellent and memorable poems on French themes. After discussing various Icelandic translations from French poetry, the author goes on to point out how French cultural influences have reached Iceland.

Particularly interesting are Chapters V and VI on Icelandic (Old Norse) loanwords in French and French loanwords in Icelandic, respectively. The author estimates that "in Modern Icelandic there are still in use about 140 words of French origin, which have been adopted into Icelandic at various times from French medieval literature and through the languages of Denmark, Germany, and England, or which were due to commercial contacts with Frenchmen."

The last three chapters consist of detailed and informative bibliographies of Icelandic books in French and French writings in Icelandic.

A brief summary in French concludes the book, which is as readable as it is scholarly. It constitutes a notable contribution, since it throws much light on an important phase of the history of Icelandic culture.

RICHARD BECK

University of North Dakota

Gade, John Allyne. *The Life and Times of Tycho Brahe*, Princeton University Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York and Princeton, 1947. Pp. 209. \$3.50.

This book was written to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of one of Denmark's greatest scientists, the world-famous astronomer Tycho Brahe. From the great wealth of

literature existing about this sixteenth-century scientist, the author has composed a narrative of Brahe's career and of the period in which he lived.

In 1576, Frederick II of Denmark gave Tycho Brahe a life-long lease of Hven Island in the sound between Denmark and Sweden and an annual income which would today equal \$60,000. This was an especially large sum, considering that, at the present value, the annual income of Denmark at that time was only six million. The astronomer planned and constructed his fabulous residence and observatory, Uraniborg, which became a center for European astronomy. By the end of the same year astronomical observations were started and were continued without interruption for more than twenty years. Frederick II continued, until his death in 1588, to give his famous astronomer all possible support, as did the regency which ruled until Christian IV became of age in 1596. Tycho Brahe repaid his debt with the lustre his work lent to Denmark, but as a lord-lieutenant he caused many difficulties. He wronged his peasants and did not fulfill all the obligations which he had taken upon himself in return for some of the economic privileges he enjoyed. Indeed, some of his acts and remarks were such that they were considered offensive to men in high offices. In 1597 the king and his government deprived Tycho Brahe of most of his economic privileges, although they allowed him to keep Hven as an entailed estate. His financial position was excellent though it did not allow him to continue his work on the same grandiose scale as formerly. In consequence, the astronomer left Hven, moving to Rostock, Germany, in the hope that the king would request him to return under improved conditions. But his conduct had caused a break with the king, leaving no prospect that he would be called back, and his pride prohibited him from returning to offer his services to the king as the latter suggested.

In 1598 Emperor Rudolph the Second invited the famous astronomer to take up residence in Prague. He accepted the offer and lived there until his death three years later. The years spent in exile, 1597-1601, were not so fruitful in scientific work, but his stay in Prague became of decisive importance to the future development of astronomy, for here he met Kepler and

entered into scientific collaboration with him. After Tycho Brahe's death Kepler worked up his observations on the planets, on the basis of which he discovered the famous Kepler laws of the motion of the earth and the planets around the sun, the laws which led Isaac Newton to his discovery of the law of gravitation near the end of the seventeenth century.

As a professional astronomer and a countryman of Tycho Brahe, the reviewer finds it easy to pick out the flaws in Mr. Gade's presentation, but the book makes entertaining and informative reading for those interested in biography or in the culture of the sixteenth century.

K. AA. STRAND

Northwestern University

Viljanen, Lauri. *Runeberg och hans diktning 1804-1837*. C. W. K. Gleerups förlag, Lund, 1947. Pp. 517 (paper covers). Illustrated. Price, 15 crowns.

This large volume on the life and poetry of young Runeberg will probably for a long time remain the definitive work on the subject. It is the first comprehensive picture of the poet's early experiences which is based on all the Runeberg research to date. It is exhaustive, as we generally understand that term. It contains, besides, a historical supplement and résumé of Runeberg investigations, especially those which appeal to a Finnish-reading public; over thirty pages of bibliographical notes; an alphabetical list of Runeberg's poems and articles written during the period covered by the volume; and an index of names. It has numerous illustrations.

The book was originally written in Finnish under the title of *Runeberg Ja Hänen Runoutensa 1804-1837*, and was translated into Swedish by Kaj Lindgren. While it was published in Lund, Sweden, it was printed in Helsingfors, Finland—a bilingual and binational enterprise. Both the writing and the translating must have called for efforts and energy of monumental dimensions.

To most readers, as to the reviewer, Johan Ludvig Runeberg is best known as the author of *Fänrik Ståls sägner*. But Viljanen's work does not, chronologically, reach that famous

epic cycle, except for an occasional glimpse of the background which produced some of its characters. And it is, above all, background which we get in this volume; detailed descriptions of parents and other relatives; the solitude of the Finnish wilderness; the poverty of the people living in the interior—Runeberg saw Finns prepare the bark that was to be ground and mixed with flour, for bread; the gradual development of the national spirit. We find here a mingling of boyish pranks, emotional violence and “erotic titanism,” and an intimate account of many friends and acquaintances. We obtain a portrayal of Runeberg as a bird-catching youngster; as a student struggling against physical want; as a teacher, teaching twenty hours a week, and as an editor; also as a severe, narrow critic of Swedish literature—apparently a temporary phase of his activity. We learn of the influence of Lidner, Bellman, Franzén, and Almquist; of his interest in Herder and the Serbian folk songs, and in folk literature in general; and we are told that the Swedish-writing Runeberg had a fair knowledge of Finnish. There was no doubt about his national sympathies—in fact, there seems to have been a danger once that he would be exiled to Siberia—and yet his tolerant, humanitarian behavior towards all had in some minds aroused the suspicion that he was “ryskvänlig.”

Preceded only by Lönnrot, Runeberg was the second translator of *Kalevala* (parts of his rendition were incorporated by M. A. Castrén into his translation); and the pioneering poet had in 1832 published his *Elgskyttarne*, which together with the *Kalevala* cycle gave “the first impulse for a Finnish national spirit.” Viljanen gives a detailed history and analysis not only of *Elgskyttarne*, where the remote-dwelling Karelians first appear in Finnish literature, but of all other important published poems, lyric, epic, didactic, and descriptive.

The volume before us is interesting throughout, and parts of it are fascinating; but the material is both intensive and extensive, and prolonged analyses of poems are likely to be tiring, except to the meticulous expert in that field. As a reference work for students of Runeberg this book is invaluable.

ADOLPH B. BENSON
Yale University

A History of Modern Drama. Edited by Barret H. Clark and George Freedley. D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York, 1947. Pp. xii+832. Reading Lists. Index. \$7.00.

The present volume sets forth in considerable detail the genesis and development of the modern drama of Europe and of the Western Hemisphere. However brief some of the sections are, such as the Finnish, the Estonian, the Croatian, and the Slovenian, yet all of the dramatic literatures in these two areas, with the exception of that of Canada, are considered. The fifteen contributors are American university professors or well-known dramatic critics. Of a uniformly high quality, all of the contributions share a common approach and a similar treatment, creating thereby a sustained critical evaluation of a vast dramatic production. The drama of the United States, the USSR, England, France, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, and Italy receives, rightly enough, the fullest treatment, but there are also extended discussions of the drama of Spain and Spanish America and of Austria, and of Yiddish and Hebrew drama. As far as I am able to judge, the results of this co-operative venture must have completely satisfied the editors.

The editors were fully aware of the importance of the Scandinavian drama in relation to the whole of modern dramatic literature. They state in the Preface:

As for the period treated, we look upon Henrik Ibsen as the symbol of the awakening of the modern spirit so far as it affected the dramatic products of those parts of the world which lie within the framework we have chosen to treat: the beginnings of the epoch date back in some cases a century, to the time when Ibsen was beginning his career (p. vii).

No other dramatist receives such frequent mention throughout the work as does Ibsen; his name occurs in the essays on the drama of twenty countries other than the Scandinavian. In addition to the discussions of the well-known relationship of Ibsen to English and German drama, various contributors discuss his influence on the development of the drama of Spain (p. 559), of Greece (pp. 546-547), of The Netherlands (p. 554), of South America (pp. 581-582; 584), etc.

Professor Alrik Gustafson's essay (pp. 1-75), to which I shall confine my remaining remarks, introduces the volume. It con-

tains about twenty pages on Ibsen, twenty-four on Strindberg, seven on Bjørnson, and five on Gunnar Heiberg. The remaining twenty pages deal with the twentieth-century drama of Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden (including the Swedish-language drama of Finland). The treatment is judicious, and the author succeeds in his limited space in giving the essentials of the dramatic art of Ibsen, Strindberg, Bjørnson, and Heiberg, as well as a succinct and forceful idea of the development of the Scandinavian drama during the past thirty or forty years. In particular, the contributions of Ibsen and Strindberg to the development of the drama elsewhere are clearly indicated. Professor Gustafson concludes his essay with the remark:

In the drama of Pär Lagerkvist and Nordahl Grieg and Helge Krog, as well as in that of a dozen other only less significant figures, the Scandinavian countries have in the last decades produced a body of dramatic literature which in variety and power is neither inferior to that of the European drama in general today nor unworthy of the great tradition in the Scandinavian drama of the late nineteenth century—the tradition of Ibsen and Strindberg, Bjørnson and Gunnar Heiberg (p. 75).

I have noted a number of minor flaws in Professor Gustafson's essay, a few of which I shall comment on. There is no mention of Shakespeare in connection with Ibsen's apprenticeship (pp. 1 ff.), and Ibsen's tour to Denmark and Germany in 1852, where he saw a number of Shakespearean plays on the stage, is not considered. The statement "Though neither *Brand* nor *Peer Gynt* was written for the theatre, they have on occasion been staged" (p. 7) applies to *Brand* but not to *Peer Gynt*. The latter has often been staged. It is at least debatable whether the theme of "women's rights" is "the central theme of the play" *A Doll's House* (p. 11). *Lucky Pehr* is more than "an interesting experiment in an only half-satirical fairy-tale drama influenced by Hans Christian Andersen and Dickens" (p. 26). In the comment on Shakespeare's influence on *The Father* mention might also have been made of Shylock, whom the Captain actually paraphrases (p. 29). The tragedy of *Miss Julia* receives only superficial consideration in the remark:

The tragic story of the half-decadent daughter of a Count, who in the course of a Midsummer's night offers herself to her father's lackey and before the

break of dawn commits suicide when she comes to realize the unworthiness of the man to whom she had yielded in a moment of passion. . . . (P. 29; cf. pp. 30, 31.)

Such a statement is like assuming that the shooting of the Archduke Ferdinand was the *basic* cause of World War I. Although it is clear that Bjørnson's influence abroad was far less than that of either Ibsen or Strindberg (p. 44), it does not follow that it is correct to say: "This body of work made him [Bjørnson] next to Ibsen the strongest literary force of his day in Norway" (p. 45). The extensive production of Kaj Munk is nowhere indicated. It is, moreover, demonstrably wrong to speak of Munk as follows:

Because of Munk's strong predilection for violent physical action, for the passionate and the brutal as fundamental manifestations of life, he turns by preference in his dramas to historical figures whose hands are bloody with the mark of evil deeds . . . (p. 74).

Munk was attracted to such figures for the reason that he believed in the dictator principle as the basic pattern of life, which belief derived ultimately from his concept of God as a dictator.

In spite of these minor matters, Professor Gustafson's essay remains a welcome contribution.

SVERRE ARESTAD

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Bentley, Eric. *The Playwright as Thinker. A Study of Drama in Modern Times*. Reynal & Hitchcock, New York City, 1946. Pp. 382. \$3.00.

Bentley's book on modern drama, *The Playwright as Thinker*, is an interpretative historical study of playwrights of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is not, however, a mere chronicle of plays and authors padded with cautious statements of favorable and unfavorable criticism. In fact, the book is not even a study of modern drama against a background of modern thought. Bentley has concentrated his attention on those artists whom he considers the creators of modern drama; he has neither time nor space for the many others who have also written plays. Thus the book "is about great playwrights and about playwrights who—if they are not great—are highly original. For

there is another sort of artist who is important besides the great artist who finds and fulfills. That is the original artist who seeks and suggests."

The Foreword and the closing section of *The Playwright as Thinker* are given over chiefly to the American drama, but the book would have been adequate even if the author had not paid his respects to native talent. Bentley is primarily interested in two traditions of the modern drama, traditions which he calls naturalism and antinaturalism. To these traditions he relates as the chief figures of the modern theater: Wagner, Ibsen, Shaw, and Strindberg. By virtue of his repeated references to and discussions of these four playwrights, Bentley accomplishes the purposes of his study. He assigns the four to historical positions of great importance and then through them—always with an eye to the two traditions of naturalism and antinaturalism—he introduces and evaluates important predecessors, contemporaries, and successors.

Bentley writes like a man who has had firsthand contacts with the dramas he discusses; he has personal opinions and judgments which he does not hesitate to offer, regardless of the appraisals already made by other critics and scholars. He thus boldly challenges some cherished views. Among them we shall consider briefly the following: (1) The quality of the drama thus far produced in the United States; (2) The significance of naturalism; (3) The selection of Wagner, Ibsen, Shaw, and Strindberg as the four major playwrights.

Native pride will cause not a few readers to take offense at Bentley's treatment of American dramatists. Our quondam irritating inferiority complex as regards theatrical arts in our own country seemed finally to have been dispelled by the quality of work brought out by such men as Rice, O'Neill, and Anderson. Certainly we were often enough told that the American drama had at long last come into its own, and this judgment, we thought, received the final hallmark of soundness when, in 1936, Eugene O'Neill was awarded the Nobel prize for literature. Bentley, however, is unconvinced and unimpressed. In his judgment the great American drama has not yet been written, and that which exists does not possess such great value that it may be favorably compared with the European drama of the nineteenth

and twentieth centuries. While it may be argued that much has been done to develop drama in the United States—a growth from nothing to something is patently significant—there has been no native creation of modern drama, Nobellian approval notwithstanding. While all artists feed upon one another and thus are largely derivative, the outstanding artist does something more: he exploits successfully what others have failed to see, have been afraid to attempt, have ignored, or have used without success. But this something more does not, in Bentley's opinion, qualify the American drama. Those who do not agree with this verdict are, of course, privileged to exhibit their masterpieces and prove their qualities.

More than native pride may be upset by the suggestion that naturalism (a term that Bentley uses in a broad, inclusive sense when he spells it with a small *n*) is "the dominant mode of the nineteenth century—perhaps even the twentieth." Certain of our colleagues on both sides of the Atlantic have long since interred naturalism, and they have also assured themselves that nothing can possibly remain besides, perhaps, a few crumbling bones. To be told that naturalism is probably still alive and flourishing in our contemporary literature may be more than some can endure, for the persistent hatred of this literary mode is little short of phenomenal. Indeed, one wonders if the active opposition to this product of the nineteenth century is not in itself *prima-facie* evidence of vigorous survival.

Bentley, of course, had no alternative but to accept what he found through his studies, namely, the dominance of naturalism in the nineteenth-century drama and its vital presence in the twentieth-century drama. It takes no profound insight, no special wisdom, to observe that the Industrial Revolution has provided a large part of the pattern of modern existence with an over-all emphasis on science and the applications of science. The objective point of view becomes willy-nilly a habit and conditions everything and everyone in our social environment. It would have been almost fantastic had realism not emerged, attained *naturalism-de-rigueur* in the essays of someone like Zola, and continued even into the opposite camp—antinaturalism. When a large section of society begins to look at the world and at itself in a new way, are we to believe that artists, to whom

seeing is so important, will have among them not one who develops great stature because of the new vision?

Those who are so opposed to naturalism that they wish to reduce it to a movement of no consequence aesthetically and historically simply cannot read history. From personal encounters with gentlemen of that camp, I am forced to the opinion that their reactions are almost wholly emotional and their judgments the product of affirmations little fortified by reasoning. A dispassionate study can only reinforce Bentley's judgment of the importance of naturalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Bentley will also challenge not a few by his panel of outstanding men of the theater: Wagner, Ibsen, Shaw, and Strindberg. Particularly the first and the last may be questioned. What shall we say, for example, of the propriety of including Wagner as a major figure in a book about the drama? Bentley himself says of Wagner that "the potency of his magic is unsurpassed in the history of music," and, in the experience of some of us, Wagner as drama tends to be submerged in Wagner as music and as spectacle. Although we may recognize that "Wagner was first and foremost a man of the theater," we may still question the assumption that Wagner bodied forth a new world in *drama*, despite his nationalism and his becoming in later years "a Reich-German, anti-French, anti-Semitic, and 'proto-Nazi.'" The test should come through a reading and rereading of Wagner as drama, as much divorced from the magic of the theater as memory will permit.

The inclusion of August Strindberg should be revealing to American students of the drama. In fact, the latter should be sufficiently challenged by *The Playwright as Thinker* to read enough of Strindberg to form an opinion that is not based solely on academic gossip, occasional references, or secondary sources. No one who has gone far into the fifty-five volumes of Strindberg's collected works dismisses this Swede lightly or refers to him as a provincial phenomenon of little importance to world literature. It is almost incredible that in the United States he has been all but written off as unworthy of further consideration, except by a Bentley and perhaps by an ultra-academic creature or two still plodding in pedantic research.

There should be no quarrel about placing Ibsen and Shaw among the prime figures of modern drama. To fail to do so is a serious indictment of one's capacity to make judgments. Shaw has composed his works in English, and Ibsen has been sufficiently translated and discussed to rule out any complaint of unavailability. I strongly suspect that anyone compelled to limit his choice of great modern dramatists to five or six would shortly find himself selecting Ibsen and Shaw, no matter what his earlier reactions had been. And we may add that if Strindberg were also read, one would find it equally necessary to include him in the list.

The content of *The Playwright as Thinker* is too extensive to be examined carefully in a brief discussion. Moreover, the quality of this book is such that it should not be impeached by cavilling faultfinding in a review of this kind. Bentley's work should be studied by all students of the drama. When first read, the book is a refreshing experience. When read again, it is not a disillusionment, for it still remains lively, informative, challenging, and, in the large, valid.

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Frederiksen, Emil. *Johannes Jørgensens Ungdom*. Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 1946. Pp. 303. Paper covers. Price, 16.50 crowns.

Johannes Jørgensen Manuskripter. (*Danske Digtere ved Arbejdet*. Udgivet af Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab. XIII.) Ejnar Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1946. Pp. 24 (board covers). Price, 14 crowns.

Johannes Jørgensen, the eighty-one-year-old Danish poet, is known for his exquisite lyrics, his beautiful prose, and—after his conversion to Catholicism—his great biographies of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Catherine of Siena.

Some thirty years ago, Johannes Jørgensen told the story of his own life in a six-volume confessional work, *Mit Livs Legende*, based on detailed diaries. In the present book about Jørgensen's youth (covering the period through his twenty-eighth year), Emil Frederiksen has wisely refrained from delving into biographical data, but instead has concentrated on a critical ex-

amination of Jørgensen's writings: poems, stories (almost prose poems), and literary journalism. Senses and intellect, which are both highly developed in Jørgensen, did not in his youth enter into a harmonious combination. As a result of this dualism, augmented by over-attachment to childhood memories and moods, he frequently felt frustrated, lonely, and depressed. At the beginning of his literary career, which he initiated with a book of poems at the age of twenty, he was deliberately naturalistic, individualistic, and artistic. Naturalism, however, did not satisfy him. Its philosophy, he felt, was confining—and flat. He longed for a world that was deeper, more mysterious, and more significant. Through the influence of French symbolism, which he introduced into Denmark, he approached the new world he desired. This transition from naturalism to symbolism was accompanied by a transformation of his literary style. Elaborate and chiefly descriptive as it was in its early phase, it gained in purity and grew in suggestiveness, as auditory elements supplemented, if not surpassed, visual ones, giving his language a musical quality of great beauty.

Emil Frederiksen's book consists of a series of acute and subtle analyses of Johannes Jørgensen's production, with special emphasis on technique and ideology. Drawing on contemporary Danish literature and on foreign literatures for illuminating comparisons, Frederiksen, in characterizing Johannes Jørgensen, gives us also a deeper understanding of the various trends of which Jørgensen at different times was an exponent. Frederiksen's esthetic analysis of Jørgensen's poetry is particularly rewarding, but one could have wished that he had subjected the language of Jørgensen's early stories to an equally comprehensive and penetrating examination.

The book closes with an interpretation of *Bekendelse*, a book of deeply moving poems in which may be traced the author's spiritual course from the altar of paganism to the threshold of the Church.

We have reason to look forward with keen anticipation to the next volume of Emil Frederiksen's sympathetic though critical study of one of Denmark's finest poets.

In *Johannes Jørgensen Manuskripter*, issued in the series

"Danish Poets at Work," Emil Frederiksen charts the development of a few poems by Johannes Jørgensen from their first appearance in manuscript to their final form in print, some of them having passed through several intermediate versions.

Frederiksen demonstrates that although Jørgensen writes with ease—inspired by nature impressions, memories of past experiences, and literary reminiscences—he works consciously and consistently with all the artistic means at his disposal.

This little publication may be considered at the same time a pre-study of and a supplement to Frederiksen's comprehensive Jørgensen monograph.

JENS NYHOLM

Northwestern University

Nøjgaard, Niels. *Ordets Dyst og Daad. Kaj Munks Levnedsløb og Personlighed*. Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, Copenhagen, 1946. Pp. xi+511. Bibliography. Index. Price, 19.50 crowns.

Anyone who has read more than one commentary on Kaj Munk realizes that there has not been, there is not now, and there probably for a long time to come will not be any consensus of opinion about him as a person, as a thinker, as a minister, or as a dramatist. Ever since his emergence to fame about 1930, Munk has been a controversial figure. It seems difficult to assume a detached attitude toward him; one is either whole-heartedly for him or against him. He was a man of intuition who somehow waited to be born until rationalism had become the current mode of thought, and specialization the pattern of our culture. Being neither a rationalist nor a specialist, Munk, for whom the whole area of human endeavor nevertheless was his to exploit, often appeared irrational. To understand Munk's irrationalism, one has to accept a good deal on faith. Nøjgaard demonstrates how this needs to be done and how it can be done. In his biography he has retained a remarkable degree of objectivity. Although he is a Munk supporter, his commendations of Munk usually seem plausible, and his criticisms of him always seem judicious.

Drawing upon the accumulated mass of *Munkiana* (there are 553 footnotes, for example), Nøjgaard investigates Munk's an-

cestry, childhood, youth, student days, travel, authorship, family life, activities as a minister of the Danish State Church, political and religious views, etc. The Munk that emerges from Nøjgaard's analysis is, in spite of all the seeming contradictions, a plausible, arresting, and intriguing figure.

Munk was a minister who believed fervently in the love and the gentleness of Christ, and yet he was a confirmed believer in the dictator principle as opposed to the democratic. During his entire career as a minister he preached in a small out-of-the-way parish in Denmark, often with implications for the everyday needs of man, and still he believed in the abiding ignorance of the multitude and in his own mission to lead the ignorant and the small of faith. Munk never did understand the democratic tradition of Denmark nor the conception of freedom and responsibility involved in the parliamentary system of government; he glorified the great man, the hero, the great performer of deeds, from ancient times to the present, and yet he became a martyr, the symbol of opposition to the Nazi occupation of his country. He was a person who burned with a consuming, almost boundless energy, whose only outlet was in writing and polemics. Not a learned man, Munk probably wrote more than he read, as an adult. Never a well man, he suffered from frightful attacks of migraine headaches, which, however, did not seem to diminish his enormous capacity for work. He loved children and idolized women. Always frugal, even after his plays brought him considerable monetary rewards, he was nevertheless generous to a fault. He shunned publicity, but once known, he remained constantly before the public.

Born into the world on the point of death, Kaj Pedersen (later Munk) survived infancy and developed into a precocious child and a gifted student, loving religion and disdaining theology, and finally emerged as an inspired minister and an enthusiastic dramatist, poet, essayist, speaker, and polemicist. Munk, who received the call of God at the tender age of eight, was to experience a short period of doubt, but his belief in God was reaffirmed before his ordination. The enigmatical and controversial Munk can be understood only in light of his belief that he was a chosen man of God. All his actions and all his writings become explicable

on the basis of that assumption. Viewed from any other premise, his life and his works remain a jumble of contradictions. The view that Munk, because he was a strange-appearing, slight man, was driven by an overpowering urge to exalt in his dramas and emulate in his actions those who were associated with great but evil deeds, can perhaps be explained in some other way by the rationalists, but these do not thereby explain away Munk's own reiterated affirmation that he was such as he was because of his peculiar and extraordinary relation to God. And it should be noted: Kaj Munk throughout his life adhered consistently to his own interpretation of his mission in life. If the contrary should ever be empirically demonstrated, there would simultaneously and of necessity emerge an exposé of Kaj Munk's *pose*, which would then prove him to have perpetrated upon mankind a hoax the magnitude of which would defy parallel. Nøjgaard shows clearly that Munk could not well have professed the one and lived the other.

Although the author states (Introduction, p. ix) that his work should not be regarded as a critical aesthetic study of Munk's literary works, nor as a piece of literary history, nor as an attempt to place Munk against the background of his time, it becomes in a measure all three. However, the work cannot be classified as aesthetic criticism, literary history, or as an historical interpretation of inter-war Denmark and Europe. Its value lies in the fact that it brings into focus Munk's literary works and the personal events of his life, and that it evaluates him and shows his contribution to Danish life.

Nøjgaard's book consists of two parts. In the first, running to 409 pages, the author presents a detailed chronology of the life and the authorship of the priest of Vedersø. While the chronological procedure makes Part I convenient for reference, it places an onerous task upon the reader, who must lift out of the mass of detail Munk's political and religious views, his conception of what constitutes dramatic art, his idea of the function of the dramatist, etc. A subject analysis would, I believe, have been preferable. However, Part II (pp. 410-478), which is based on the detail of Part I, becomes an able appraisal of Kaj Munk as a person and as a thinker, and so in a measure compensates

for the mixture of important and unimportant elements throughout the first section of the book. One commendable feature of Nøjgaard's biography is the bibliography (pp. 505-507), which lists seventy-nine items, both the published and the unpublished works. Nøjgaard's bibliography, however, is not nearly so complete as that of H. H. Siegumfeldt in *Kaj Munk: En Mand og hans Daad* (Aalborg, 1945), which runs to fifty-five pages (pp. 143-198) and includes the printed works, the literary remains, the newspaper articles, the interviews, the speeches, and the sermons.

A tendency toward all-inclusiveness militates against Nøjgaard's work, for too much material which already has been made available to Kaj Munk students is here repeated without necessarily elucidating the thesis under discussion. The description of *Regensen* (pp. 87 ff.), with all its detail, and the ancestry hunt that opens the volume (pp. 1 ff.) somehow remind the reader of the indefatigable Johnson researchers who have finally discovered the name of the third husband of the midwife who officiated at the illustrious Englishman's birth. Nøjgaard might have done a better job if he had approached his mass of material with a sharper sense of critical selectivity. However, he has in a somewhat weighty manner demonstrated "the joust and the deed" of the written and spoken word as applied to Munk. And those who read Nøjgaard's analysis of Munk will not soon forget the enigmatical priest of Vedersø, who like some figure from the past returned to make a stormy call upon his countrymen.

SVERRE ARESTAD
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Skouen, Arne. *Stokers' Mess*. Translated from the Norwegian by Joran Birkeland. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1948. Pp. 239. \$2.75.

This novel was originally published in 1947 as *Fest i Port des Galets*, A. Aschehoug & Co., Oslo. It was awarded both the Norwegian and the All-Scandinavian prizes in competition among one hundred and fifty recent Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish novels. The author, born in Oslo in 1913, is a journalist on the staff of *Verdens Gang*, and a playwright; and during the war he was active in the underground press and as Director of that

extraordinarily able organization, the Norwegian Information Service in New York. The translation, by Joran Birkeland, unlike many recent ones, is not the lame offspring of a well-formed and vigorous sire, but a forceful and idiomatic piece of literature that can stand on its own merits.

Some critics who hastily judge by superficial resemblances, especially those reviewers who attach overmuch importance to prize-winning, are doing the young author a disservice by glibly likening his work to Conrad's. The rough nautical characters and the locality, the island of Réunion in the Indian Ocean, do recall Conrad; but Skouen's theme is too restricted, and his personages are too simple, to require the kind of tragic and romantic interpretation in the grand style which the creator of *The Nigger of the Narcissus* and *Nostramo* so masterfully provided. *Stokers' Mess* is a characteristic expression of our new war-tried generation, of its democratic pre-occupations, and of its aesthetic and ethical reactions.

What seems important to Skouen are two interwoven themes—the common people at their commonest, and, of even more significance, the passing, in such a milieu, of adolescence into manhood. He shows us the ways and manners of ordinary seamen and their molls through a night of drunken orgy, and as the central character among them a galley-boy, Einar, aged fifteen, who previously had been literally kicked around, and made to feel hopelessly stupid and childish, and had therefore secretly indulged in fantastic imaginings. But somehow on that dreadful night of rum-swilling, bloody brawling, and gross carnality, Einar overcame his sense of inferiority and his fears; learned what it means to be a man among men; and even, half-incredible as it seemed to himself, achieved something like leadership among the roughnecks and grown-ups who had bullied him. The characterization does not sacrifice truth to dramatic effects. Einar is a complex blend of lower and higher instincts, including a rudimentary sense of honor; towards the end he has begun to realize that adult life is something harsh, painful, and perplexing, yet partly manageable; but we are not asked to believe that his personality has become permanently settled and is unmodifiable in the future.

There is nothing old-fashioned in this novel: the facts of life

are not hidden nor deplored; and, though there are ethical standards implied, there is no facile moralizing of a comforting or sentimental sort. The brevity is admirable; the style is stripped for swift progress; and the action, though sufficiently full and varied, is not eked out with merely impressionistic or decorative redundancies. The subject is sordid, but the treatment is never vulgar. Some of the obvious dangers which such a theme invited have been avoided. Einar's psychological growth is made sufficiently clear and plausible without the slightest recourse to Freudian theories. He is made to pass through as tough experiences as any in O'Neill's dramas without Skouen's implying that they warrant nothing but despair and cynicism; and yet, unlike D. H. Lawrence, the author is not misled into idolizing brutal virility. Einar becomes mature, at least in part, not by becoming brutish, but by growing intelligent, perceptive, and courageous. In short, *Stokers' Mess* achieves naturalism without falling into pessimism on the one hand, or into primitivism on the other. It is a strong work—strong to the verge of fierceness or savagery—but sound at the core and true to the foundations of human nature. Whether Skouen can achieve an equally successful presentation of life on its more complex and higher levels remains to be seen.

ERNEST BERNBAUM

Freedom's Haven

Jaffrey, New Hampshire

Sweden, Past and Present, edited by Gösta Lundquist. Published by the Swedish Tourist Traffic Association, Stockholm, 1947. Price, 13.50 crowns. Distributed in the U.S.A. by Albert Bonnier Publ. House, New York.

This book is published, according to the Preface, primarily "to enhance the foreigner's interest in Sweden and its people." Its 192 pages contain a survey of Swedish history, life, and culture, beautifully illustrated with artistic photographs and elucidating maps. Fourteen writers have contributed articles and picture texts. Five of these (74 pages) deal with history and government; nine articles (100 pages) deal with the economic, social, and cultural life. An article on traveling in Sweden, a

statistical survey, and a bibliography complete the content.

Readers who know but little about Sweden will find the book a pleasant and concise introduction to the land and the people. It is undoubtedly quite sufficient for the purpose for which it is published. Some readers will be disappointed with certain portions; the article on literature, for instance, seems rather inadequate since it does not mention modern writers. Under the heading of "Cultural Life" one looks in vain for something on the religious life of the people. Is the Church so insignificant a factor in the culture of Modern Sweden?

The photographic material is the best part of the book. Those who do not care about the text will want to own the book because of the pictures.

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BOOK NOTES

Breve fra Johannes Jørgensen til Viggo Stuckenberg. Edited by Jørgen Andersen. Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 1946. Pp. 83 (paper covers). Price, 6.75 crowns. Written with sincerity, these letters from Johannes Jørgensen to his fellow poet Viggo Stuckenberg tell the story of an unusually warm and intimate friendship which finally came to an end when Jørgensen joined the Catholic Church while Stuckenberg, defiantly, confirmed his belief in the "proud paganism" of their youth.

Breve mellem Viggo Stuckenberg og L. C. Nielsen. Edited by Jørgen Andersen. Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 1946. Pp. 122 (paper covers). Price, 7.75 crowns. These letters between Viggo Stuckenberg and L. C. Nielsen at the turn of the century do not deal with profound problems. Concerned chiefly with the confession of literary ambitions, spiritual frustrations, and never-ending money worries, they do, however, furnish us with insight into the many difficulties which poets—particularly in a small country—have to overcome to find fulfilment.

Lagerlöf, Selma. *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils.* Translated by Velma Swanston Howard. Pantheon, New York, 1947. Pp. 539. \$5.00. The story of Nils apparently has become a classic for children everywhere. In its new attractive American edition, with its end maps and the exquisite illustrations by H. Baumhauer, the Howard translation is far more attractive than it was in its original American form. The Pantheon Press richly deserves congratulations for its excellent *Nils*. Parents whose children do not have a copy of this book will find it a gift welcomed by almost any child; most likely they themselves will enjoy it as much as the youngster. It is, moreover, a book that anyone who is enthusiastic about Selma Lagerlöf or who is interested in Scandinavian folklore will want to own.

Literary Prizes and Their Winners. R. R. Bowker Co., New York, 1946. Pp. 119. \$3.00. This revised edition of *Famous Literary Prizes and Their Winners* (1935, 1939) presents in compact and usable form the pertinent facts about most American and foreign literary prizes, the conditions on which each prize is awarded, a list of winners of each prize, a list of publishers of

winning books, and other information. The Nobel Prize appropriately is given precedence over all others. Readers who are primarily interested in Scandinavian literature will find information about only one other Scandinavian prize—the Swedish Nobel Prize, but will otherwise find the book very much what it claims to be—a handy work of reference.

Guide to Information About Sweden. Compiled by Naboth Hedin. The American Swedish News Exchange, Inc., 630 Fifth Ave., New York 20, 1947. 25 cents. This guide is a highly convenient bibliography of articles and books in English about Sweden with directions as to where and how the articles and books may be obtained.

Swedish Poems Translated into English 1900–1947. Compiled by Martin S. Allwood. Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill., 1947. Pp. 7. Mimeographed. Mr. Allwood has assembled a list of translations for each of which he gives the name of the translator and the name of the publication in which it appeared.

Tegen, Gunhild. *The Road to Santa Fe.* Translated by Llewellyn Jones. Dierkes Press, Chicago, 1947. Pp. 126. \$2.00. This attractive book is apparently a very good translation of a short Swedish novel; the translator has had the assistance of Dr. Sven Liljeblad. The novel tells the story of an author who escaped from his country when the Nazis moved in, who found American literary circles disappointing, and who found—for a time—refuge and peace among the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest. There is little about Scandinavia in *The Road to Santa Fe*, but it is very much worth reading.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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